CHATEAUBRIAND AND MILTON.

THE period of Chateaubriand's exile in England—those seven troubled years during which, in M. Faguet's words, the author of *René* 'fit l'apprentissage de la vraie douleur'—was the period which formed his literary genius. To the emotional inspiration of his love-episode in Suffolk, it is probable we owe Atala herself, Céluta in *Les Natchez*, and Cymodocée in *Les Martyrs*[1]. His study of English literature during those seven years provided him with valuable suggestions and rich actual material for the two last-named works. And this study broadened his critical views, helped to free them from neo-classic prejudice; made possible, in short, those splendid pages of criticism in the *Génie du Christianisme* on which perhaps his title to immortality will most surely rest.

The name of Milton may sound strange when coupled with that of Chateaubriand. But Chateaubriand's study of our literature was not mainly a study of those writers who heralded the Romantic revival in England. The attraction for him of Gray, of Beattie, or of Ossian, is not to be compared to that of a poet whose artistic nature was largely his own, whose personality even had much in common with his own, and whom he admired passionately from those days of youth when he first studied his life and works in exile, to those of disappointed old age in which he beguiled his melancholy by translating into French prose the whole of the *Paradise Lost*.

We are perhaps too prone to insist on that side of Chateaubriand's personality and literary temperament which links him, in European literature, to Byron and to the Goethe of *Werther's Sorrows*. We call him the chief of 'les pleurnicheurs,' and we think of the deplorable literary school of the imitators of *René*. But to label him the French

[1] A. Le Braz, *Au Pays d'Exil de Chateaubriand*. This charming work throws light on that part of Chateaubriand's exile which had hitherto remained the most obscure. The aristocratic René (in his *Mémoires*) recounts delightfully the story of Charlotte, but gives no hint of the fact that he once earned his bread by teaching French in a village school.

Byron and have done with him is sadly superficial and unjust. By noticing his sympathy with Milton, as an artist and as a man, the magnetic attraction that Milton's genius had for him during the whole of his life, we may be enabled to right the balance a little. Not that even then we shall have accounted for all, or nearly all, of the conflicting elements that make up his strange personality and his still stranger work.

'J'étais encore très jeune' we read in the Preface which Chateaubriand wrote for *Les Natchez* in 1826, 'lorsque je conçus l'idée de faire *l'épopée de l'homme de la nature.*' The poetic dreams of Chateaubriand's youth were on a vast scale. They haunted and possessed him; and like Milton, who dreamed of immortality at Horton, he lived to realise them. As we know from the *Mémoires,* he grew up prone to a melancholy partly constitutional, partly the result of a lonely uncared-for childhood. He wandered over the heather and through the woods that surrounded the 'paternal castle' at Combourg, often with his sister Lucile who first encouraged him to describe what he saw[1]. But that grey Breton country did more for him than harmonise with his prevailing melancholy; the rolling plains, the vast grey sky, the sea at St Malo helped to waken in him that instinct for the infinite, which he was to show in the spaciousness of the natural description, the vastness of the scheme, the massed profusion of the details of his greatest works. We have Sainte-Beuve's assurance that he was born *ennuyé*; he was also born with the epic imagination. And it is our object to show how Milton stimulated the growth of these epic instincts in Chateaubriand.

He had come of age before he paid much attention to his studies; by that time he had learnt at least to love the *Aeneid* and *Télémaque.* The epic stimulus was always with him, however he might love to soothe his brooding melancholy with Tibullus, or to feed *sensiblerie* and the passions of adolescence on such things as *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and *Paul et Virginie.*

In 1790 he found himself in Paris. His unprofitable college years were now behind him; he had dreamed of travel, and even of the church; but his haughty and morose father had roused himself to sufficient interest in his son to interpose with the brusque command, 'Monsieur le chevalier, il faut renoncer à vos folies. Votre frère a obtenu pour vous un brevet de sous-lieutenant dans le régiment de Navarre.' Presentation at Court, and association with the literary

[1] See Anatole France, *Lucile de Chateaubriand.* There are traces of Lucile in the Velléda of *Les Martyrs.*

circles of Paris, awaited the young 'sous-lieutenant.' This latter event was well-nigh disastrous; not so much to his creative work as to his critical views, instinctively so broad and so sympathetic. They were warped and narrowed by this association with French neo-classicism, with such men as La Harpe, Delille and Fontanes, loyal friend as the latter proved to be. Chateaubriand was now seized with a passion for reading, and took steps to use it to help out his idea of the 'épopée de l'homme de la nature.' Homer and Virgil, the *Lettres Persanes*, and the *Incas* of Marmontel, Fénelon and Voltaire, Rousseau above all, with his *sensiblerie*, his individualism, his idolising of the noble savage, have all left their mark on the extraordinary conception which took final form as *Les Natchez*. And Miltonic reminiscences 'leap to the eye' in the very first pages; though we cannot prove that Chateaubriand ever studied Milton to any extent in Paris, even in the translation of Louis Racine. The first sketch of *Les Natchez*, begun as early as 1790, is not forthcoming; the Miltonic reminiscences, in the text as we have it, are probably later additions, the result of his studies while in England.

In April, 1791, he started on a voyage to America; not that he hated the Revolution just then, or was in any particular danger; but rather as a disciple of Rousseau tired of the artificial society of the capital, and as a literary artist in search of new worlds of imagination to conquer. He had discovered that his first sketch of *Les Natchez* 'lacked the true colours'—naturally, as the Natchez were a Red Indian tribe of whom he had read in Charlevoix, and round whose fortunes he proposed to write his 'épopée de l'homme de la nature.' A grotesque and audacious project, worthy of the young Chateaubriand.

No doubt his stay in America did much for him; it accustomed his eye to vast prospects; it gave him the epic perspective, as well as some of the exotic colours he had lacked; it fulfilled his longing for solitude. But he did not observe much at first hand; and we must beware of attaching much importance to such assertions as 'j'ai vécu dans les huttes des sauvages[1].' Honour called Chateaubriand back from his epic dreams. He has left us a famous account of his chance reading of an English newspaper, away among the 'huttes des sauvages,' on which were the alarming words 'Flight of the King.' Louis XVI had escaped from Paris, only to be captured at Varennes. His defenders were assembling, and, after all, Chateaubriand was an aristocrat.

[1] See Joseph Bédier, *Études critiques*.

'Je pensais que, portant l'uniforme français, je ne devais pas me promener dans les forêts du Nouveau Monde quand mes camarades allaient se battre.' We are not concerned here with the details of Chateaubriand's campaigning. He eventually landed at Southampton, in the worst of health and in desperate need, on May 17th, 1793.

Recent research has abundantly enlightened us as to his life in England[1]. The *Essai sur les Révolutions*, published in London in 1797, was the first-fruits of the exile. He began it in a Holborn garret, eking out a precarious existence by hackwork as a translator; he continued it and wrote the greater part of it in the intervals of his professional duties as French master at Brightley's School, in Beccles, Suffolk. The *Essai*[2] is disappointing to us in our search for the persistence of the epic idea in the author; it is a work foreign to the Chateaubriand we know. It is a mere chaos into which the writer flings the scepticism and misanthropy roused in him by the Revolution that had thrown him into exile and into want, and that was soon to strike down members of his own family.

Still, so chaotic a work, informed by a vast if ill-assimilated reading, raises many points of interest. Chapter XIX, which has to do with the descent of poetry from Homer, gives a quaint list of the epic poets of Europe; a list in which Milton fraternises with Ercilla, Klopstock and Voltaire. Chapter LIII is more significant, for here (*a propos* of a fragment from the *Bhagavat-Gîta*) we have a eulogy of the *Messias*, and a translation of part of the eighth Canto. It was natural that Chateaubriand should be attracted to Klopstock, who combines *sensiblerie* with some measure of the epic instinct. Still more evident is it that the 'épopée' of Chateaubriand's dreams is occupying his mind when we consider other objects of his study at this time. He tells us, in the *Mémoires*, of his devising certain 'plans d'études' for young ladies in

[1] The seven years' exile falls into three distinct periods—the time of utter poverty in London, which can hardly have lasted a year; the schoolmastering in Suffolk (and the love-adventure at Bungay) which covered quite two years and a half, or even more; and the period of comparative comfort in the society of the *émigrés*, a period of eager literary activity, which lasted till his return to France, May 7th, 1800. Cp. E. Dick, *Le Séjour de Chateaubriand en Suffolk*, F. Baldensperger, *Chateaubriand et l'Emigration française à Londres* (articles in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 1907, 1908)—also M. Le Braz' book quoted above.

[2] The work is a laboured and far-fetched parallel between ancient and modern revolutions; ancient Greece is made to explain 1789—and the conclusion reached is that *there is nothing new under the sun*—'l'homme, faible dans ses moyens et dans son génie, ne fait que se répéter sans cesse.' With Rousseau, somewhat inconsistently, he declares for some vague and impossible 'return to Nature.' Except for a few sincere and touching passages on the sad lot of the *émigrés*, and the superb 'Nuit chez les sauvages d'Amérique,' the book is of little interest as literature. It fills Vols. 2 and 3 of the *Oeuvres complètes*.

the neighbourhood of Beccles, notably for Miss Charlotte Ives, daughter of the Rev. John Ives of Bungay[1]. With her he read Dante and Tasso —and he could read Milton, and good store of English literature, in her father's library. Thus, while occupied with his teaching, and the composition of the *Essai*, he found time to turn the pages of most of the significant epics in European literature; and his special interest not only in Milton's works but in his life is shown in one of the most curious and least known of his early compositions, written at this very time[2].

He happened on the story (first found in Richardson's *Memoirs*, and probably apocryphal) of Davenant being the instrument of Charles II's clemency to Milton, who himself had saved Davenant under the Commonwealth. 'Histoire honorable aux Muses,' wrote Chateaubriand later, 'sur laquelle j'ai rimaillé jadis des vers détestables.'

He had an instinct, as most subjective writers have, for fixing on picturesque details and incidents in the life of any author in whose works he was interested. The 'vers détestables' in question show how dangerous is that love of the picturesque which ignores or 'arranges' hard historical facts, and indulges in embroidery hardly justified by the widest poetic license.

It would be cruel to quote much of *Milton et Davenant*—for Chateaubriand, with all his gifts, had not the gift of writing verse. When Milton had saved Davenant's neck under the Commonwealth, the two poets, it would appear, sat down to a cosy literary chat and declaimed their verses:

> Davenant récita l'idylle du *Ruisseau*,
> Milton lui repartit par le vif *Allégro*,
> Du doux *Penseroso* redit le chant si triste,
> Et déclama les chœurs du *Samson Agoniste*,

a remarkable feat, when we remember that *Samson* can hardly have been begun before 1667! Much sentiment, further on, is expended on one of Milton's daughters (which one we are not informed):

> C'est elle qui souvent, dans un docte entretien,
> Relit le vieil Homère à l'Homère chrétien,

[1] M. Le Braz recounts the idyll of Bungay with much detail, and shows to what an extent French literature is indebted to the unfortunate Charlotte.

[2] *Milton et Davenant*, dated 'Londres 1797.' *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 24. It is probable that this was written in Suffolk, with the paraphrase of Gray's *Elegy* and other slight poems. Cp. Le Braz.

and when Davenant arrives with Charles II's pardon for the blind poet, this daughter opens it in great perturbation, not knowing what is in store for her father:

> D'une voix altérée elle lit la sentence:
> 'Voulant à la justice égaler la clémence,
> Il nous plait d'octroyer, de pleine autorité,
> A Davenant, pour prix de sa fidélité,
> La grâce de Milton. CHARLES.' Qu'on se figure
> Les transports que causa la touchante aventure!

This suffices, I should think. Delille or Fontanes could have done better. But we must at once admit that Chateaubriand *has* written better poetry; for the best parts of his verse-paraphrase of Gray's *Elegy*, and the charming *Romance* in the *Dernier Abencérage* are beyond the neoclassics; they even help in some degree to bridge the gulf between eighteenth century poetry and Lamartine.

Milton's prose also interested Chateaubriand at this time. He was drawn to it because of its political and historical significance. It is curious to note what an attraction the period of the Stuarts and the Commonwealth always had for him[1]. He is fond of tracing parallels between the French Revolution and that of 1649. In the chaotic *Essai*[2] we stumble across such things as a citation and translation of the *Alarm to all Flesh*, and a most loyal plea for the authenticity of the *Eikon Basilice*, 'malgré les plaisanteries de Milton!'

The *Essai* out of hand, Chateaubriand could concentrate his attention on *Les Natchez*. M. Le Braz has shown plausibly enough that parts of this work may have been written in Suffolk. But it is to the latter period of the exile (1797–1800)—when the author had returned to London—that we must attribute the elaboration of this work, and especially of the two famous episodes *Atala* and *René* which once formed part of the original canvas.

At first sight *Les Natchez* would appear more chaotic even than the *Essai*; but its confusion is of a different kind. It has the audacity and spontaneity of young genius that has found itself; it is a chaos alive and fertile. It is in two parts; the first a prose epic, the second a plain narrative. We are only concerned with the first part—that part of the original sketch which Chateaubriand deliberately 'raised from the narrative to the epic,' as the outcome of the varied studies we have been tracing. This was not a mere process of literary patch-

[1] In later life he devoted a historical monograph to the period: *Les quatre Stuarts*, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. 13.

[2] Tome II, Chap. 16. (Vol. 3 of *Oeuvres complètes*.)

work; to the fervid imagination of his youthful days Homeric comparison and extravagant epic exploit came naturally. There is much that is grotesque, of course, in this Red Indian Epic; but I cannot help thinking that M. Faguet, who appreciates *Les Natchez* so truly, has rather belittled the epic portion in his enthusiasm for the second part[1].

The main story may be stated baldly and simply enough. The Natchez, an Indian tribe of Louisiana, who have adopted as their comrade René the European, are incited, by the machinations of the traitor chief Ondouré, to rise and massacre the French colonists of the province. René, as a white man, falls in the conflict; this leads inevitably to the death of his Indian wife Céluta (loved by Ondouré), his friend Outougamiz, and most of the characters in the story. The Natchez, as punishment for their rising, lose their fatherland, and after much wandering, meet with annihilation.

Round these events are grouped, in right epic fashion, Heaven, Hell, and most of the powers therein, who all take due interest in the fortunes of the Indian tribe. The epic portion is in twelve books, and has all the due paraphernalia of invocations, catalogues, prodigious conflicts, descriptions of the other world; and a long narrative episode, in which Chactas, the old Natchez chief, tells René of his journeyings. As might be expected, it is in the epic framework, particularly in the supernatural portion of it, that Milton's influence is mainly to be found.

The whole is written in a musical prose—*Télémaque* first showed the author the possibilities in French of 'la prose poétique'—rhythmic, sonorous, more free and supple, if less balanced and less mature, than the style of prose that Chateaubriand afterwards perfected in *Les Martyrs*. Here is the opening, in which he proposes to treat, like Milton, of

Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.

'A l'ombre des forêts américaines, je vais chanter des airs de la solitude *tels que n'en ont point entendu les oreilles mortelles*; je vais raconter vos malheurs, ô Natchez, ô nation de la Louisiane, dont il ne reste plus que les souvenirs!' Here we have the Miltonic strain of pride; in the last clause a gush of Romantic melancholy; and 'airs de la solitude' is the forerunner of many an imaginative phrase which will hardly be found in *Télémaque*.

[1] M. des Essarts, curiously enough, prefers the epic portion to the narrative (see the article *Chateaubriand* in P. de Julleville). Sainte-Beuve fights shy of *Les Natchez*—'Je ne l'aborderai pas, car nous n'en sortirions jamais.'

Satan figures in the commencement of the Second Book: he is one of the 'machining persons.' 'Planant dans les airs, au-dessus de l'Amérique, il jetait un regard déséspéré sur cette partie de la terre où le Sauveur le poursuit comme le soleil qui, s'avançant des portes de l'Orient, chasse devant lui les ténèbres.' We soon see that it is Milton's Satan that Chateaubriand is thinking of. He is much concerned at the spread of the Gospel among the Indians of America. 'Rempli de projets de vengeance,' which is only Chateaubriand's way of echoing 'full fraught with mischievous revenge,' he descends to his empire, and summons what is surely the most Miltonic of all epic contrivances, the council of demons. He harangues them (the scene is not localised) and incites them to stir up evil passions in the Indians. The whole would be only a clumsy piece of machinery if it were not for the speech itself, in which the Indian colour, skilfully used to amplify the Miltonic hint, gives much sombre impressiveness:

> Dieux de l'Amérique, s'écrie-t-il, *anges tombés avec moi*, vous qui vous faites adorer sous la forme d'un serpent, vous que l'on invoque comme les génies des castors et des ours; vous qui, sous le nom de manitous, remplissez les songes, inspirez les craintes, ou entretenez les espérances des peuples barbares; vous qui murmurez dans les vents, qui mugissez dans les cataractes, qui présidez au silence ou à la terreur des forêts, allez défendre vos autels!

The great *phrase* is constructed with much art, and is not unworthy of *Les Martyrs*. It will be noticed that Chateaubriand has followed Milton in identifying the fallen angels with the gods of the heathen world; we shall see as we proceed how he took many such hints, without necessarily betraying their source by any trace of verbal reminiscence.

The 'Stygian council' ends with an obviously Miltonic trait: 'Il dit, et le Tartare pousse un rugissement de joie, qui fut entendu dans les forêts du Nouveau Monde.' Here, however, most of the impressiveness is gone. It is childish baldness compared to the shout

> that tore Hell's concave, and beyond
> Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.

The Miltonic influence is evident in the other scenes of *Les Natchez* which take place in the infernal world. In this same Book is a truly extraordinary passage descriptive of the meeting of Satan with the 'Démon de la Renommée, fille de Satan et de l'Orgueil,' in which Chateaubriand seems to be thinking both of Virgil and Milton; for the allegorical description of La Renommée recalls the great figure of Rumour in the Fourth *Aeneid*, and her relationship to Satan, and

verbal similarities in their colloquy, recall the episode of Sin and Death.

But it would be tedious to treat in detail all the traces of Milton to be found in the supernatural framework of *Les Natchez*. A word may be said about the great battle between Indians and French in the Tenth Book, where, amid many Homeric and Virgilian traits, the influence of Milton is not absent. Satan is present in the fray; his legions hover in the air and darken the sun; Satan raises supernatural noises. 'Jamais tel bruit n'avait été ouï, *depuis le jour où le chaos, forcé de fuir devant le Créateur, se précipita aux confins des mondes arrachés de ses entrailles.*' And Night is summoned by Satan to end the conflict—'Ange ravissant...prenez votre robe des tempêtes. Vous savez ce que vous me devez; vous n'étiez pas avant la chute de l'homme, et vous avez pris naissance dans mes ténèbres.' There is much power in the description of Night, her descent on the combatants, and the wild havoc of her tempests—'Aux reflets de la lune, on apercevait des arbres brisés par les bombes et les boulets, des cadavres flottants dans le débordement du Meschacebé, des chevaux abattus ou errant à l'aventure...des armes et des drapeaux abandonnés.' Are these last the 'scattered arms and ensigns' of *Paradise Lost*? In the Fourth Book of *Les Natchez* there is a Heaven—a creation half Biblical, half Platonic, at times grotesque and obscure enough, though full of scattered beauties. The Miltonic influence here, though it exists, can hardly be shown by the selection of verbal resemblances. But, at the outset of the Book—where we follow the 'ange protecteur de l'Amérique' in his ascent to Heaven—his meeting with Uriel, the archangel of the sun, is surely suggested by Milton, as is undoubtedly their conversation on the creation of the sun, its light, and points of Ptolemaic astronomy. The conversation also recalls the inquiries of Adam and the replies of Raphael, as a short quotation may show:

> Brûlant chérubin, si toutefois ma curiosité n'est point deplacée...ce qu'on dit de l'astre auquel vous présidez est-il vrai?
> Uriel, avec un sourire paisible:
> Esprit rempli de prudence, votre curiosité n'a rien d'indiscret, puisque vous n'avez pour but que de glorifier l'œuvre du Père.

We now take leave of this amazing work, in which the grotesque and the beautiful are so strangely mingled. We have shown that Milton plays no unimportant part in the epic framework; by suggesting structural particulars on the one hand, and actual phraseology on the other. We might instance other parallel passages, if we were not liable

to fall into the very real danger of attributing to Milton what are direct reminiscences of Homer or Virgil. Milton himself made such large profit of the classics that the task of finding the true source of many scattered things in *Les Natchez* would be as hopeless as it is unnecessary. It is most profitable to dwell on the one fact that the supernatural in *Les Natchez* is largely Milton's. And it is of course the Christian supernatural. This suggests some of the most interesting questions that can be asked about Chateaubriand.

When he wrote the *Essai* he was avowedly sceptical; much has been written on the change in thought and belief which turned the Rousseauist, the 'demi-philosophe' of 1797 into the author of the *Génie du Christianisme*[1]. The change seems sudden enough when we recollect that the first sketch of the latter work was actually begun in London, in 1799, two years after the publication of the *Essai*. The sentimental reason given by Chateaubriand has weight, but by itself is not enough. The news of the death of his mother and one of his sisters, weeping over his errors, and praying for his conversion —this would have been enough for some men, but hardly enough for Chateaubriand. We want more explanation than the famous 'j'ai pleuré et j'ai cru.' One critic has suggested that Chateaubriand, while in London, came under the influence of the growing reaction in favour of Christianity. This is quite likely, and is a point that invites research. Of one thing I am certain: the reason for Chateaubriand's 'conversion' was not merely sentimental, and only to some degree intellectual: it was mainly and essentially artistic. All through life M. Faguet's neat little dictum about him holds good—'Le Beau l'attire. Il l'a attiré vers le Christianisme.' His ruling passion was the search for Beauty, Beauty in all its forms. At Combourg, he dreamed of his 'terrestrial Eve.' Once his literary vocation was found, he compassed half the world to depict the beauties of Nature. For this, he went to America; for this, later on, he saw Rome and Greece, Palestine and the Alhambra. For this, he studied the literatures of other lands.

The influence, then, of his study of Milton on his much-discussed 'conversion' must have been considerable. Its force, I think, can hardly be over-estimated. Chateaubriand was mainly attracted to Christianity because he saw beauties in it, literary possibilities unknown or at least forgotten by the France of his day. More than a hundred years ago

[1] This work, published in 1802, is, as we all know, one of the most eloquent and successful pleas in literature for the beauty and venerableness of the Christian religion, its appeal to the emotions, the beauty of its ordinances, above all, its artistic possibilities.

Boileau, who dictated the creed of the French neo-classics, had let fall his ban on the Christian supernatural:

> De la foi d'un Chrétien les mystères terribles
> D'ornements égayés ne sont point susceptibles,

and the pale shades of poets who lived in France in the eighteenth century had as a rule obeyed his command. Now Chateaubriand, once he became alive to his vocation, condemned the eighteenth century and all its ways. What more natural than that he should uphold against it the new source of beauty he had found? Here again M. Faguet puts the position with fine precision and an engaging touch of malice: 'Découvrir une nouvelle forme du Beau, et continuer de prouver au XVIII[e] siècle qu'il ne sait pas ce qu'il dit—double allégresse.' Who knows how much Milton must have taught him of the artistic possibilities of the Christian supernatural? We have seen that during the exile he studied Klopstock, Dante and Tasso. Glowing pages in the *Génie du Christianisme* show his regard for them—and for Milton above all. His occupation, then, with those poets of the world who have best shown the literary possibilities of the Christian religion, must be considered as the chief source and reason for his epoch-making work. Milton's share in this is pre-eminent. He provided actual material, as we have seen, for *Les Natchez*, and, as we shall see, for *Les Martyrs*: he had much to do with the very existence of the *Génie du Christianisme*.

The idea of *Les Martyrs* occurred to Chateaubriand in Rome, in the year 1802. The obscure *émigré* of 1800 was now famous; *Atala*, published barely a year after his return to France, had not only brought American colour for the first time into French literature; it had rivalled Rousseau and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre in its passionate individualism, and had outdone them in the breadth and the gorgeousness of its natural description. The *Génie du Christianisme* (thanks largely to a similar project of Buonaparte's) had done much to overthrow *philosophisme*: its critical pages had sounded the manifesto of the French Romantic Movement. Chateaubriand now turned eastward in his search for Beauty; and particularly for that kind of beauty which he had praised so eloquently in the *Génie*. He had upheld, against classic mythology, the literary possibilities of the Christian supernatural: he was now going to vindicate his theory by a brilliant example. In Italy, in Greece, in the Holy Land and in Spain, he was busied in making sketches for his great prose epic, *Les Martyrs*, which he did not publish till 1809. Some of his earlier sketches are preserved in the *Itinéraire*, which appeared two years later; there are many who prefer the simpler

descriptions in the travel-book to the full-dress elaboration in the epic. Granada, the Alhambra, and a love-adventure there, provided the stimulus for his last creative work, the beautiful tale of *Le Dernier Abencérage*. Such were the fruits of the journey.

Les Martyrs is not Chateaubriand's masterpiece: but it is at any rate his greatest effort. His youthful daring, in *Les Natchez*, had made light of the difficulties of the epic; or rather, had not realised them. His matured powers, in *Les Martyrs*, did not hesitate to attempt the enterprise a second time. He failed; but it is a tribute to the audacity and the persistency of the epic instinct in Chateaubriand that he came as near as he did to success.

Perhaps it was mainly his determination to vindicate the great thesis of the *Génie* that made him throw this work into epic form. At any rate, in the opening invocation, on the threshold of the hopeless enterprise, he calls with almost pathetic significance on the Muse of two great poets who had shown him the possibilities of the Christian supernatural.

Muse céleste, vous qui inspirâtes le poète de Sorrente et *l'aveugle d'Albion* ; vous qui placez votre trône solitaire sur le Thabor ; vous qui vous plaisez aux pensées sévères, aux méditations graves et sublimes, j'implore à présent votre secours.

The subject of *Les Martyrs* is the struggle of Christianity and paganism under Diocletian and Galerius; and the eventual triumph of Christianity at the accession of Constantine. This triumph is brought about, according to the scheme, 'par les efforts glorieux de deux époux martyrs,' Eudore, a young Greek warrior converted to Christianity, and Cymodocée, daughter of Démodocus, a 'priest of Homer,' who for love of Eudore eventually adopts his faith. They are martyred in Rome when the persecutions break out under Galerius. The scene of the work is 'dispersedly in various countries.' The whole scheme of events, as in *Paradise Lost*, is controlled inevitably by Eternal Providence, which sends angels many and various to help on the fortunes of the two 'martyrs' and their friends; which permits Satan and his crew to stir up evil passions in Galerius, Hiérocles (rival of Eudore in Cymodocée's love) and the forces of paganism generally—and which arranges as a final consummation that Galerius shall die just as his fatal decree has been carried out. Constantine succeeds, the Christian religion is proclaimed on the tomb of the martyred couple, 'et les temples des faux dieux rentrent pour jamais dans la poudre.'

The canvas is vast; the scheme is often incoherent. The idea of the meeting and the struggle of early Christianity with decadent

paganism has great possibilities; but Chateaubriand was not the man to grasp them as they should be grasped. We care little for the main scheme, for we soon find that the author's greatest strength goes into the episodes and the descriptions. Some of these are among the glories of French literature[1]. But to read the work through is a weariness of the flesh. The epic framework is of more importance here than in *Les Natchez*. All the conventions are observed. We have the set similes and the set descriptions, invocations and catalogues, battles and storms. Not only do the supernatural agencies help on the action; but variety is given by the interspersion of long passages of supernatural description. A Paradise[2] occupies the whole of the Third Book, a Hell the greater part of the Eighth. As might be expected, Milton's influence is mainly felt in the supernatural portions; and most particularly in the Hell, which we must now examine.

It interrupts Eudore's narrative—an account of his youthful adventures given in the presence of Cymodocée and her father. Satan notes the effect produced on the young 'priestess of the Muses' by this story of travel and danger: 'Il allait profiter de l'amour du couple prédestiné pour faire naître de violents orages....Il quitte la terre et descend vers le sombre empire.'

Echoes of *Paradise Lost* are clearly heard as he descends: 'Par-delà les restes mugissants du chaos, il arrive à la frontière de ces régions impérissables comme la vengeance qui les forma; régions maudites, tombe et berceau de la mort, où le temps ne fait point la règle.'

Not only in their sombre atmosphere, but in their turn of phrase, almost in their very movement these lines recall

> Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
> And rest can never dwell, hope never comes...
> The womb of nature, and perhaps her grave.

[1] The conventional 'episode,' the *Récit d'Eudore*, contains the finest things in the whole work—the battle of the Franks and Romans (Book VI) which Sainte-Beuve, never too generous to Chateaubriand, thinks worthy of the *Iliad* and the last books of the *Aeneid*; and that marvellous *Episode de Velléda* (Books IX and X), the summit of the author's genius.

[2] The Paradise has Miltonic reminiscences; in his notes Chateaubriand defends by Milton's example the lavish display of jewellery he has made in it; he has also borrowed such details as the staircase in the Third Book of *Paradise Lost*, and the description of Messiah's chariot in the Sixth. Sainte-Beuve calls the Paradise 'obscur et tourmenté'; it is loaded with Biblical imagery; it borrows features from most of the Paradises in ancient and modern literature; it is a bewildering medley of matter and spirit. Still, it is an ecstatic picture, full of imaginative beauty. If Chateaubriand has thought fit to shroud his Divine Persons in much cloudy symbolism, he has at least refrained from attributing to his Deity the 'arguments of a school-divine.' And nowhere, perhaps, is the prose style more magnificent than in this Book.

The quotation also shows the perfection of style to which Chateaubriand had attained in *Les Martyrs*—nothing in the earlier epic approaches their gloomy roll and their consummate mastery of cadence.

Satan is struck with remorse and pity as he enters his doleful realm. The human emotions of Milton's Satan, especially his remorse at the unhappy fate of his comrades, and at the destruction he must bring on man, are among the features of *Paradise Lost* which Chateaubriand is never tired of praising. Some of the most eloquent pages in the *Génie du Christianisme* treat of the character of Milton's Satan. The praise is happier than the imitation, but this latter is often striking:

> Une larme involontaire mouille les yeux de l'esprit pervers au moment où il s'enfonce dans les royaumes de la nuit. Sa lance de feu éclaire à peine autour de lui l'épaisseur des ombres....L'Enfer étonne encore son monarque....'C'est donc moi,' s'écrie-t-il, 'qui ai creusé ces prisons et rassemblé tous ces maux!...Que m'avait fait l'homme, cette belle et noble créature?'

Touches such as these—suggested only by his study of Milton—enable Chateaubriand at times almost to make his Satan alive, and distinguish his figure from the crowd of the other supernatural creations in *Les Martyrs*, which are rarely more than empty personifications, or tedious compounds of moral allegory.

Satan meets Death at Hell-gate—a female figure described with hideous detail, and much allegory almost in the mediaeval style of the *Roman de la Rose*. The weak side of Chateaubriand's treatment of the supernatural is here painfully evident; one feels that he has deliberately tried to make the description as odious as he can; and here and elsewhere one is irritated at the mass of petty allegorical detail. In such a description he is furthest from the grandeur and the vagueness of Milton's treatment; dignity is lost and gives way to rant, gush, and unhealthy phantasmagoria.

The colloquy of Satan and Death is what might be expected from the Second Book of *Paradise Lost*:

> O mon père!...Viens-tu rassassier la faim insatiable de ta fille? Je suis fatiguée des mêmes festins, et j'attends de toi quelque nouveau monde à dévorer.
> O Mort! tu seras satisfaite et vengée; je vais livrer à ta rage le peuple nombreux de ton unique vainqueur.

With the description of the tortures of the damned we have nothing to do; it is in great part a *réchauffé* of Dante and Fénelon; in which, however, the ingenious mental torments suggested by the Archbishop of Cambrai evidently appealed more to Chateaubriand than the physical horrors of the *Inferno*.

We now approach the most Miltonic part of the whole book; for we have a Pandemonium, a roll-call of devils, and a 'Stygian Council' in full and formal array. Neptune, Apollo, and other classical deities are in the throng; also Moloch, and the 'dog Anubis' of the *Nativity Ode.* Their number is swelled by many dreary abstractions—'génie de la guerre,' 'génie de la fausse sagesse.' Chateaubriand is prone to a fault quite as bad as tedious moral allegory—to the emptiest and easiest of all methods of personification, which consists in simply writing an abstract noun with a capital letter.

At times, indeed, there is a measure of Miltonic inspiration, without any slavish following of the original. A hint is taken, and finely developed, a sombre imagination supplies many a just and effective epithet; eye and ear, memory and feeling, are appealed to in succession with much skill; and the unfailing sonority of the rhythmic prose is most impressive. Here are some features of the Pandemonium:

> Une tempête éternelle gronde autour de ses créneaux ménaçants, un arbre stérile est planté devant sa porte....On aperçoit une longue suite de portiques désolés, semblables à ces galeries souterraines où les prêtres de l'Egypte cachaient les monstres qu'ils faisaient adorer aux hommes. Les dômes du fatal édifice retentissent des sourds mugissements d'une incendie : une pâle lueur descend des voûtes embrasées.

And this is the description of Satan, about to address the assembly:

> Non plus comme cet astre du matin qui nous apporte la lumière, mais semblable à une comète effrayante, Lucifer s'assied sur son trône, au milieu de ce peuple d'esprits. Tel qu'on voit pendant une tempête une vague s'élever au-dessus des autres flots, et ménacer les nautonniers de sa cime écumante, ou tel que, dans une ville embrasée, on remarque, au milieu des édifices fumants, une haute tour dont les flammes couronnent le sommet, tel paraît l'archange tombé au milieu de ses compagnons.

The barest hints have here sufficed to stimulate Chateaubriand to a description surely not quite unworthy of that of a greater Satan which we all know. Milton compares him to an eclipsed sun; like Chateaubriand's 'comète effrayante' he 'perplexes monarchs' with 'fear of change.' It was also he who,

> above the rest,
> In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
> Stood *like a tower*;

and the hint that suggested his opening words was a good deal broader:

> Dieux des nations, Trônes, Ardeurs, guerriers généreux, milices invincibles... magnanimes enfants de cette forte patrie[1]!...

[1] 'Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers...
Warriors, the flower of Heaven!'

Satan now invites proposals as to the best means of exterminating the growing bands of Christians on earth. Three demons offer their counsel; and the first, 'démon de l'homicide,' in his abruptness and his uncompromising ferocity, is none other than the Moloch of *Paradise Lost*:

'Qu'est-il besoin de délibérer,' s'écrie l'ange atroce, 'faut-il, pour détruire les peuples du Christ, d'autres moyens que des bourreaux et des flammes? Dieux des nations, laissez-moi le soin de rétablir vos temples...Qu'un immense et dernier massacre fasse nager les autels de notre ennemi dans le sang de ses adorateurs!'

This is undisputably Moloch, though robbed of one of his most Miltonic traits—his sombre dignity. Belial suggested to Chateaubriand the contrast in the words of the next speaker, the 'démon de la fausse sagesse.' His 'persuasive accent' is clearly recognisable here:

Monarques de l'enfer, vous le savez, j'ai toujours été opposé à la violence...Nous n'obtiendrons la victoire que par le raisonnement, la douceur, et la persuasion.

Belial's calmness, hypocrisy, and plausibility are all found in this second demon of Chateaubriand's; while the third, Astarte, 'démon de la volupté,' has features that recall both Belial and Satan:

Le plus beau des anges tombés, après l'archange rebelle, il a conservé une partie des grâces dont l'avait orné le Créateur[1].

The council is at an end; the first demon will further the designs of his chief by stirring up the spirit of massacre; the second will provoke sophism, the third sensuality. Satan applauds their projects. All is ready for the great enterprise, destined, of course, later to be overthrown by that all-ruling Providence which is as absolute in *Les Martyrs* as in *Paradise Lost*. We take leave of Chateaubriand's Hell as we watch the demons ascending, like fluttering bats, up through Hellgate into the world:

Ainsi parle Lucifer; trois fois il frappe son trône de son sceptre; trois fois *les creux de l'abîme renvoient un long mugissement*. Le chaos, *unique et sombre voisin de l'enfer*, ressent le contre-coup....Aussitôt les légions s'élèvent, sortent du conseil, traversent la mer de larmes, la région des supplices, et volent vers la porte gardée par le Crime et la Mort. On voit passer la troupe immonde à la lueur des fournaises ardentes, comme, dans une grotte souterraine, voltigent à la lumière d'un flambeau ces oiseaux douteux dont un insecte impur semble avoir tissu les ailes.

Sainte-Beuve, in his great book on Chateaubriand and his literary circle under the Empire, is very severe on this Hell. 'La scène de

[1] Cf. 'His form had not yet lost
All her original brightness'—
and again: 'A fairer person lost not Heaven.'

l'abîme,' he says, 'à laquelle nous assistons est tout ce qu'on peut imaginer de plus pénible, de plus forgée à froid, de plus désagréable.' He talks of it as a mere exercise in pastiche, a series of Dantean and Miltonic ideas 'froidement réchauffées.' Cold *réchauffé* in literature must always be worthless; but surely this of Chateaubriand's, even when it is *réchauffé*, is not always cold! We have shown that at times the merest hint is enough to set his imagination aglow, that his borrowing is seldom literal, and seldom a mere process of literary patchwork. And there is no reason why even pastiche should necessarily produce bad literature. To remember *Paradise Lost* while writing this book of *Les Martyrs* was to Chateaubriand almost second nature. And if he never approaches the heights of Milton, he can at least contrive to soar 'with no middle flight' into regions of sonorous and imaginative gloom.

It will perhaps have been noticed that where he follows Milton most closely, as in the scene in Pandemonium, his worst faults of moral allegory and empty personification, and his fits of morbid extravagance, are least in evidence. Milton taught him particularly the art of localising and defining the supernatural. In *Les Martyrs*, of course, there is no clear-drawn map of Universal Space such as Milton had in his mind; but the different portions of Chateaubriand's Hell are at least fairly definite; we are not lost in utter confusion. Milton showed him that this necessary concession to the geometric instincts of finite minds is not incompatible with the greatest effects of vagueness and indefiniteness. So the Hell in *Les Martyrs* is at once more vivid and better defined, less elusive and impalpable than those dreary *inania regna*, the Hells in *Télémaque* and the *Henriade* of Voltaire.

It is unnecessary to insist on other scattered reminiscences of Milton in *Les Martyrs*. They occur mainly in what we have called the epic framework. The formal 'catalogue,' and the geographical survey, with its wealth of allusion and reminiscence, is not infrequent in *Les Martyrs*. Chateaubriand treats this with great breadth of style; and his more perfected art brings it in with far less incongruity than is the case in *Les Natchez*. The device of course is as old as Homer, but the wide sweep of range in Chateaubriand's examples, and especially the rolling music of the proper names, suggest Milton; at times in fact irresistibly[1].

[1] In the Notes to *Les Martyrs* we meet with such statements as 'J'ai lu Stényclare au lieu de Stényclère, *pour l'oreille*.' Chateaubriand, like Milton, was very careful of the euphony of his proper names.

Here is a passage from the Second Book, descriptive of the 'chant d'Eudore':

> Passant aux jours d'Abraham, et adoucissant les sons de sa lyre, il dit le palmier, le puits, le chameau, l'onagre du désert, le patriarche voyageur assis devant sa tente, les troupeaux de Galaad, les vallés du Liban, les sommets d'Hermon, *d'Oreb et de Sinaï* ; les rosiers de Jéricho, les cyprès de Cadès, les palmes d'Idumée ; Ephraïm et Sichem, Sion et Solyme, le torrent des Gèdres et les eaux sacrées du Jourdain.

And in the famous Grecian night in the First Book the melody of the names enhances the beauty and the breadth of the description:

> C'était une de ces nuits dont les ombres transparentes semblent craindre de cacher le beau ciel de la Grèce....Les sommets du Taygète, les promontoires opposés de Colonides et d'Acritas, la mer de Messénie, brillaient de la plus tendre lumière ; une flotte ionienne baissait ses voiles pour entrer au port de Coronée....Alcyon gemissait doucement sur son nid, et le vent de la nuit apportait à Cymodocée les parfums du dictame et la voix lointaine de Neptune.

Not only is Chateaubriand in *Les Martyrs* quite at home in reminiscent description and catalogue; he can use the invocation at times in a strangely Miltonic way, for personal confession and revelation, in passages of proud confidence or of pathetic lyrical outcry. A fine example of this is the invocation to the last of the twenty-four books of *Les Martyrs,* that superb *Adieu à la Muse* in which he passes in review his travels in foreign lands:

> O Muse ! qui daignas me soutenir dans une carrière aussi longue que périlleuse ! retourne maintenant aux célestes demeures. Je vois les bornes de la course.... Adieu ! consolatrice de mes jours, toi qui partageas mes plaisirs, et bien plus souvent mes douleurs !...J'étais à peine sorti de l'enfance, tu montas sur mon vaisseau rapide, et tu chantas les tempêtes qui déchiraient mon voile ; tu me suivis sous le toit d'écorce du sauvage, et tu me fis trouver dans les solitudes américaines les bois du Pinde....Porté sur ton aile j'ai découvert au milieu des nuages les montagnes de Morven, j'ai pénétré les forêts d'Erminsul, j'ai vu couler les flots du Tibre, j'ai salué les oliviers du Céphise et les lauriers de l'Eurotas....Avec toi j'adorai les eaux du Jourdain et je priai sur la montagne de Sion. Memphis et Carthage nous ont vu méditer sur leurs ruines ; et, dans les débris des palais de Grenade, nous évoquâmes les souvenirs de l'honneur et de l'amour.

This is no mere exercise in declamation; it is only too sincere. Chateaubriand felt when he wrote those words that his best period —his truly creative period—was over. After *Les Martyrs* he was immersed in politics; lost to literature save for the *Mémoires,* brilliant but unequal, and for other works that show more certain signs of decadence[1].

[1] E.g. *Les quatre Stuarts*, *Vie de Rancé*, *Essai sur la Littérature anglaise.* This last contains some fine criticism, especially on Milton, and the most detailed account of his life that had appeared in France ; but it is largely a farrago of passages from earlier works and from the *Mémoires,* and has some surprising *lacunae.*

The *Dernier Abencérage*, beautiful as is its Spanish colour, and its atmosphere of chivalry, shows by a certain stiffness of handling that even before 1809 the fountain was running dry.

The large manner of the *Martyrs* had vanished, never to return. The Muse had gone away.

We have come to the end of the scattered reminiscences of Milton in Chateaubriand's works. Interesting as they are in themselves, they are not so important as is the one general fact that Milton was an inspiration to Chateaubriand during his best time of literary activity. That splendid period which comprises pretty exactly the first decade of the nineteenth century produced *Atala*, *René*, *Le Génie du Christianisme*, *Les Martyrs*. We have seen Milton's influence in the last named work; the consideration of the critical views on Milton, so novel, so brilliant in the *Génie*, so sympathetic in the *Essai sur la Littérature anglaise*, is outside the scope of the present article. But *Atala* and *René* may help us to realise that the inspiration of Milton did not extend merely to verbal suggestion, hints for incident and construction, but that it must have had a tangible if vaguer influence on the epic manner of Chateaubriand.

Atala and *René* are not usually called novels, at least in France; the word is felt to be profoundly unsatisfying. This is not merely on account of the thinness of the actual plots, and the subordination of action to description and sentiment. It is because of the largeness of the manner, and the vast framework with which the meagre plot is surrounded. M. Faguet has summed up the contents of these novels: 'Il faut que le Christianisme, le fétichisme, l'amour naturel, l'amour chrétien, l'amour moderne se donnent rendezvous dans *Atala*—que la nature, les ruines, la civilisation, la société, la solitude, le désir d'action et la passion du néant se retrouvent dans les quelques pages de *René*.' The scale of *Les Natchez* and *Les Martyrs*, as we have seen, is more amazing still. But *René* and *Atala* are both short; and show us that this crowded profusion of detail, this enclosing of a meagre story in the vastest framework, had become instinctive in Chateaubriand. It is one of the marks of the epic instinct. And who can tell how much Milton is responsible for this broad manner, this instinct for the infinite, in Chateaubriand?

René must not open his mouth to tell his friends the story of his grief until they have been surrounded with all the magnificence of New-World scenery and with a bird's-eye view of the doings of civilised and savage society:

> L'aurore se levait; à quelque distance dans la plaine on apercevait le village des Natchez, avec son bocage de mûriers et ses cabanes qui ressemblaient à des ruches d'abeilles. La colonie française et le fort Rosalie se montraient sur la droite, au bord du fleuve. Des tentes, des maisons à moitié bâties, des forteresses commencées,

des défrichements couverts de nègres, des groupes de blancs et d'Indiens, présentaient, dans ce petit espace, le contraste des mœurs sociales et des mœurs sauvages. Vers l'orient, au fond de la perspective, le soleil commençait à paraître entre les sommets brisés des Apalaches, qui se dessinaient comme des caractères d'azur dans les hauteurs dorées du ciel ; à l'occident, le Meschacebé roulait ses ondes dans un silence magnifique, et formait la bordeur du tableau avec une inconcevable grandeur.

This Pisgah-sight of nature is a mark of all the works of Chateaubriand's best time. And who can have taught him the true perspective better than the poet who gave us Christ's view from the mount in *Paradise Regained*?

But man, his actions and his passions, are not always surrounded in Chateaubriand with a framework which, if grandiose, is merely passive. We can see here another mark of the epic instinct. Nature sympathises with man; and not only nature in its narrow sense, but supernatural forces. The epic—be its subject the wrath of Achilles, the plucking of an apple, or the struggle of Christianity and Paganism under Diocletian—calls Heaven and Earth to witness. The Gods are never far off; the elements, themselves gods in the older epics, interest themselves in man's affairs. Chateaubriand, as we have seen, is rarely successful in his delineation of supernatural beings; on the other hand he has a superb power of identifying the passions of man with the manifestations of those powers of nature which we do not now personify. In Chateaubriand, love comes in cataclysms. We remember how in *Atala*, the highest moment of human passion is reached in the great storm-scene in the savannah; how in *Les Martyrs*, Eudore yields to Velléda amid the roar of the tempest on that Druidic rock; lashed by the waves, hearing in imagination the wail of the spirits that were to carry his lover to the Ile des Bretons. And when passion is quieter, nature still sympathises. Chactas, at the first distant presentiment of Atala's fatal sickness, thinks that the laurels murmur sadly on the mountain-side. This 'pathetic fallacy' of a sympathising Nature is, as we know, a leading idea in all the earlier manifestations of the Romantic spirit; and Chateaubriand would find it in Ossian, one of the favourite studies of his youth. But when we think of the pervading influence exerted on him by Milton, we may not be wrong in giving their due weight to passages such as these:

> Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat,
> Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe
> That all was lost.
>
> ...Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
> In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan;
> Sky loured, and, muttering thunder, some sad drops
> Wept at completing of the mortal Sin
> Original.

Chateaubriand's was an imperfect genius, in which the elements were unkindly mixed. His work contains little that is finished and complete; but it is almost incomparably rich in tendencies, in hints which were to be developed by the whole succeeding age of French literature. One thing, as we know, he did perfectly; he gave expression in *René* to the mental malady of his age. And in the *Génie du Christianisme*, as Professor Saintsbury has pointed out, he showed himself the 'first brilliant exponent' of imaginative criticism since Longinus. The side of his genius on which we have been insisting was both imperfect and short-lived. The expression of his epic tendencies was but half articulate; he had no command of the 'greater harmony,' though he drew from French prose a richer music than had ever been heard before. Then again, his constructive and logical faculties were deficient; and consequently his two longer efforts in the epic form are imperfect as works of art. Still, this epic tendency, only half-expressed in him, was caught up and developed by his followers. The spaciousness and breadth of outline in the descriptions of such a poem as the *Moïse* of Alfred de Vigny, the profusion of detail, the panoramic splendour of countless descriptions in Victor Hugo, all show the inspiring influence of this side of the genius of Chateaubriand. This genius he owed in the first place to the Nature that had created him so; but a poet, whether in verse or in prose, is always both born and made. The development of his epic tendencies he owed in great part to the stimulus afforded him by the study of the works of John Milton.

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CHAUCER: 'THE SHIPMAN'S PROLOGUE.'

One of the most important points to be considered, in the question concerning the correct arrangement of the Canterbury Tales, is the authenticity and position of The Shipman's Prologue; as to which the MSS. differ.

Some MSS. contain a Shipman's Prologue which is obviously spurious. It consists of only twelve lines, beginning (in MS. Sloane 1685): 'How, frendes, sayd oure oste so dere'; and ending: 'And right a-none hys tale he began.' It is quite true that the Pardoner's Tale is followed by the Shipman's in many MSS. of all types, but nearly all the best MSS., including the Harleian, the Hengwrt, the Lansdowne and two that resemble it, and all those of the Ellesmere type have at this point a manifest gap, as the Pardoner's Tale has no End-link nor any indication of the Tale that was to follow. But several MSS. of the Petworth type contain this spurious connexion between the Pardoner and Shipman, viz. Sloane 1685, Royal 18, Barlow, Laud 739, Cambridge Ii, and Rawl. Poet. 149. The Petworth MS., and Cambridge Mm. preserve the same lines, but absurdly place them at the end of Gamelin, though the Pardoner is expressly referred to; and the Hatton MS., with equal absurdity, places them at the end of the Clerk's Tale.

One rather serious consequence was that Thynne, who chiefly followed a MS. of the Petworth type, unluckily preserved these spurious lines to connect the Pardoner with the Shipman, and all the later black-letter editions followed him.

However, it is easy to remember that, as Tyrwhitt has said: 'The Tale of the Shipman in the best MSS. has no Prologue. What has been printed as such in the common Editions is evidently spurious.' This is all that need be said about the Pardoner-Shipman link, alias the spurious Shipman's Prologue.

But there is another set of twenty-eight lines, certainly genuine, that was called The Shipman's Prologue by Tyrwhitt, and again so

called by Dr Furnivall in the Six-text edition, where they are numbered B 1163–1190. The history of these lines is both difficult and remarkable.

Without assuming any correctness for my theory that the MSS. should be regarded as being of five different types, which I call, respectively, the Hengwrt, Petworth, Lansdowne, Harleian, and Ellesmere types, it will nevertheless be convenient to discuss these five types separately, and in the above order. If any other order be taken, it will not, in the present case, affect the results, except as regards the Selden MS. only. This is a MS. which Miss Hammond (quite justifiably) puts in a class *by itself*. With this I agree; I merely left it out because the order of Tales is such as can hardly be reconciled with that in other MSS.

In the Hengwrt MS. these lines, viz., B 1163–1190, do not appear.

In MSS. of the Petworth type (corresponding to Miss Hammond's Groups IVa, IVc, IVd, IVe) these lines usually form a Squire's Prologue. In many MSS. they are headed 'The Prologe of the Squiere,' or 'The prolog of the Squyers Tale,' and they actually precede the Squire's Tale. In l. 1179, many have the reading 'Seide the squier,' to show that the Squire's Tale was to follow. At the same time, it is tolerably certain that, in such MSS., it is assumed that the previous speaker was the Man of Law. For, whereas in B 46, the Man of Law had said: 'I can right now no *thrifty* tale seyn,' the Host is pleased to remark, in l. 1165 'This *was a thrifty* tale for the nones.' And in l. 1168, he says: 'I see wel that ye *lerned men* in lore,' with allusion to the 'parish prest,' as addressed in l. 1166, and to the Man of Law, who was the last teller of a Tale. It is therefore certain that, at *one* stage of the *tentative* arrangement of the Tales, these lines were meant to form a Man-of-Law End-link and a Squire's Prologue. And it must carefully be noted that this particular arrangement is favoured in a large number of MSS., including many of the Petworth type, and three of the Lansdowne type.

To be exact, we find this order in the following MSS. of the Petworth type:—Harl. 7333, Trin. R. 3. 15 (Miss Hammond's Group IVa); Corpus, Sloane 1686, Lansdowne (IVb); Harl. 1758, Sloane 1685, Rawl. Poet. 149, Lichfield, Hodson (2), Egerton 2863, Royal 18, Laud 739, Barlow (IVc); Petworth, Camb. Mm. (IVd); Hatton, Camb. Ii (IVe). These *eighteen* MSS. all agree upon this point. Probably the Northumberland and New College MSS. follow suit; and if so, the

number amounts to *twenty*. But this is by no means all; for, as Thynne largely followed a MS. of this type, all the old printed editions present the same arrangement.

The testimony of MS. Rawl. Misc. 1133 is extraordinary. We find, at the beginning: 'Here endeth the tale of the man of lawe, And here biginneth the Prolog of the Squier'; and again, at the end (i.e. after l. 1190)—'Here endith the Prolog of the Squier, And here biginneth his tale folwing.' Notwithstanding which, l. 1179 is—'Seide *the sompnour*, here shal he nought preche.'

MS. Royal 17 has at the beginning the same rubric; but after l. 1190 it actually gives the *second* Squire's Prologue, or that which still bears that name, viz., lines F1–8 of the Six-text; and then the Squire's Tale follows. But here again, in l. 1179, we find: 'Sayde *the sompnour*, he schalle notte preche' (*here* being omitted). We can hardly take the allusion to the Sompnour seriously, under such circumstances.

But the testimony of the famous Harleian MS. 7334 is the strangest of all. Here B 1163 follows B 1162, but there is *no* rubric; l. 1175 is left blank; l. 1179 has: 'Sayde *the sompnour*, he schal heer naught preche'; and the Prologue comes to a sudden end at l. 1185. Instead of ll. 1186–1190, all that appears is the inept rubric: 'Here endith the man of lawe his tale,' followed by a new rubric: 'Here bygynneth the prologe of *the wyf of Bathe*.'

We must next notice the wholly *unique* testimony of the Selden MS., or MS. Arch. Selden, B. 14. The rubric before l. 1163 is: 'Here endith the man of lawe his tale; and next folwith *the Shipman* his prolog.' In l. 1179: 'Seide the Shipman, here shal he not preche.' And, after l. 1190: 'Here endith the Shipman his prolog. And next folwyng he bigynneth his tale, etc.' And the Shipman's Tale follows (B 1191–1624).

The Ellesmere MS. and all that closely resemble it omit the whole of this Prologue; B 1163–1190 do not appear in them. These MSS. include:—Ellesmere, Cambridge, Camb. Dd 4. 24, Egerton 2726, Devonshire, Egerton 2864, Addit. 5140, Bodley 686, Hodson (3), Addit. 35286, Laud 600, Harl. 7335; in number, *twelve*. So also (I believe) the Paris MS. and Trinity 49 (Oxford). If so, the number is *fourteen*. So also (as said already) the Hengwrt MS.

We can now recapitulate the *facts*, which no theory can alter. It appears that this Prologue follows the Man of Law, and is definitely assigned to the Squire, in 18 (or 20) MSS. Two more likewise assign

it to the Squire, yet mention *the sompnour* in l. 1179. The Harleian alone assigns it to nobody, mentions *the sompnour* in l. 1179, but terminates in confusion, because The Wyf of Bathe follows.

Only *one* MS., the Selden, both calls it The Shipman's Prologue, and prefixes it to the Shipman's Tale.

All the rest of the MSS. (as far as I know) omit it altogether.

I now offer an explanation of the phenomena, which satisfies me for the present. Perhaps someone else can give us a better theory; but they must keep the proved facts in view.

Any one who reads this Prologue carefully must admit that it was originally meant to follow the Man of Law; and indeed, it occurs nowhere else.

It is more suitable for the Shipman than for the Squire; and I think it was composed with the Shipman in view.

But it became useless as a Shipman's Prologue, for the simple reason that there was no Shipman's Tale ready to follow it! For any one who reads what is *now* called the Shipman's Tale will see the justice of my note on l. 1202 (Oxf. Chaucer, v. 168): '*us*, i.e., us women. This is clear proof that some of the opening lines of this Tale (and therefore, probably, all of them) were not originally intended for the Shipman, but for the Wife of Bath, as she is the only lady in the company to whom they would be suitable.' On second thoughts, Chaucer early discovered that he had a great deal more for the Wife of Bath to say than he had put into this Tale of hers; and he gave himself more room, expanding her 'long preamble,' as the Friar called it (D 831), to 856 lines, and writing a new Wife's Tale which he linked on to the Friar's Tale. When he came to deal with the Prioress, Sir Thopas, and Melibee, he hitched on the old Wife's Tale to the Prioress's in a few masterly lines (B 1625–1642) and called it The Shipman's Tale. This rendered the old Shipman's Prologue (left behind near the beginning of the MSS.) valueless, unless it could be used for someone else. He assigned it, provisionally and by way of temporary experiment, to the Squire, intending, no doubt, to alter a few of the concluding lines, which of course he never did; just as he never altered lines B 1200–1209, which are so impossible for the Shipman. And so it became, for a time, a Squire's Prologue. But, instead of mending it, he afterwards took a shorter course by writing a *new* Squire's Prologue *of only eight lines*, and so introduced the Squire easily enough. The *old* Squire's Prologue (previously the Shipman's) was thus practically abandoned. The Harleian MS. attempted to retain it, but found it

useless; and the whole tribe of the Ellesmere MSS. ignored it wholly, with perfect justice.

There was only one scribe who made some subsequent use of it. His arrangement of the Tales was all his own, and so it came to pass that, as Miss Hammond says, 'the Man-of-Law End-link introduces the Shipman, as in no other known MS. of the Canterbury Tales.' It is happy, no doubt, and Tyrwhitt (followed by Furnivall) was glad of an excuse for utilising the lines in a fitting place. All the same, I believe the scribe was simply in luck, and that he merely chanced to revert to an arrangement which Chaucer had once upon a time intended, but had afterwards decisively abandoned. I can only record my belief that, though it may be pardonable to call lines B 1163–1190 by the title of The Shipman's Prologue for the purpose of preserving them, it is nevertheless unjustifiable to 'lift up' lines B 1163–4652 so as to follow B 1162; contrary to the arrangement of every MS. and every edition before the Chaucer Society came into being. For, as Miss Hammond so well explains (p. 277), the Selden MS. brings the Man of Law's Tale and Shipman's Tale into close connexion, not by lifting the Shipman's Tale *up*, but by moving the Man of Law's Tale *down*!

I had to follow the lead of the Chaucer Society in this respect because there was no choice left. To have done otherwise would have upset all the new numbering of the lines, and reference to the Six-text would have become impossible. But I much regret it; and hope that some future editor will adopt a bolder course.

As at present advised, I should follow the lead of the Harleian MS., and arrange the Tales thus.

A; B 1–1162; B 1163–1190, assigned to no one, but marked as having been once a Shipman's Prologue, then a Squire's Prologue, but finally abandoned; D; E, F (counted as forming but *one* Group); G; C; B 1191–4636; B 4637–4652 (a rejected End-link, but genuine, which Harl. omits); H; I.

The Ellesmere order is much the same; but it places G just before H; a matter of small consequence.

I am of opinion that the 'lifting up' of B 1191–4652, so as to follow B 1190, did gross violence to the evidence when judicially considered. Also, that the placing of the so-called C before D, against the testimony of every MS. and of every old edition, cannot be justified.

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THE 'ACADEMIC TRAGEDY' OF 'CAESAR AND POMPEY.'

THERE are in the British Museum, the Bodleian, in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, and among Dyce's books in the Victoria and Albert Museum, several copies of an old play about which so many misleading and inaccurate statements have been made, and in regard to which so much loose conjecture has been hazarded, even in the standard histories of Elizabethan drama, that it seems time to call a halt to errors which have been repeated from book to book, by giving a correct account of the play, along with such a full analysis of its content and description of its style as should remove the possibility of future blunders.

The play in question is the so-called 'Academic Tragedy' of *Caesar and Pompey*, or, as the title-page of what I take to be the first quarto reads: *The* | *Tragedie* | *of* | *Caesar and Pompey* | *or* | *Caesar's Revenge.* | *Privately acted by the Students of Trinity* | *Colledge in Oxford.* | *At London* | *Imprinted for Nathaniel Fosbrooke and John Wright, and are* | *to be sould in Paules church-yard at the* | *signe of the Helmet* | 1607. It was entered to Wright and Fossbrooke in the Stationers' Registers on June 5, 1606. We may take it, I suppose, to have been composed earlier in that year, perhaps in consequence of the impulse given to dramatic performances at Oxford by the King's visit in 1605, and forerunning what Professor Schelling has called the 'Theatromania' at Oxford in 1607. On the title-page of the copy in the British Museum there are entered in ink, below the date 1607, the figures 1608 to 1615 inclusive. These may, perhaps, refer to performances of this play at Trinity in those years.

The first of the long series of mis-statements about this play is found in Craik's *English of Shakespeare* (Rolfe's edition, p. 46). He there states that two editions have come down to us, 'one bearing the date of 1607, the other without date but apparently earlier.' The undated

edition I have not seen; it is noted by Greg (*Handlist of English Plays*, p. 134) as found in the Dyce collection, and in that of the Duke of Devonshire, with the following title-page: *The Tragedie of Caesar and Pompey or Caesar's Revenge. G. E.* [i.e., George Eld] *for John Wright.* Now as the play was entered to Wright and Fossbrooke in 1606, and as both these names appear on the title-page of the 1607 edition, it is most unlikely, not to say incredible, that an earlier edition should have appeared under Wright's name alone. It is a fair assumption that the undated edition represents a later issue of the play after Fossbrooke had sold out his rights in it to his former associate, John Wright. Had Craik known of the entry in the Stationers' Registers, he would hardly have ventured this assertion. His statement as to the earlier date was inspired, I fancy, by another notion of his, equally unfounded, but unfortunately repeated again and again by historians of the Elizabethan drama, namely that this play 'appears first to have been produced in 1594. See *Henslowe's Diary* Collier, p. 44.' Ward (*English Dramatic Literature*, vol. II, p. 140) repeats the statement that this play 'may have been that mentioned in Henslowe's Diary,' and Schelling in his List of Plays (*Elizabethan Drama*, vol. II, p. 548) gives 1594 as the year of production, 1607 as that of the publication of this play. Why he should do this and yet on the same page print the Henslowe play of 1594 in italics as a lost play I cannot understand. The only reason for assuming 1594 as the date for the first performance of the academic tragedy is its conjectured identity with Henslowe's play, '*seser and pompie*,' and if they are identical, Henslowe's play is not lost. But, to speak plainly, Professor Schelling, for whose 'happy and copious industry' and wide knowledge in the field of Elizabethan literature no one can have a more profound respect than I, seems destined to error whenever he refers to this play. Earlier in his work (vol. II, pp. 22–3) after citing Craik's identification of the 'academic tragedy' with the play mentioned by Henslowe, he proceeds to mention a Latin play on Caesar by Thomas May, still in manuscript, and to hazard the guess that this latter 'may be identical with a late *Julius Caesar*, acted privately by students of Trinity College, Oxford, it is not recorded when.' But the play acted by the Trinity students was the very play which he has just identified with Henslowe's; for his citation of Craik combined with his entry of 1594 in his 'List of Plays' show that he accepts this identification. It cannot, therefore, be identified with May's Latin play; to say nothing of the fact that May, born in 1595, was but eleven years old when our

play was entered in the Stationers' Registers. And further, it is most unlikely that May, a fellow-commoner of Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, would have turned into Latin a play performed by the students of Trinity College, Oxford. If May's MS., reported in *Biographia Dramatica*, pt. II, vol I, p. 503, as in the possession of Stephen Jones, be still extant, it would be but the work of a few moments to settle this latter point. Possibly Professor Schelling's suggestion that the Trinity College play may be the same as May's comes from the *Retrospective Review* (vol. XII, p. 8) where the two are mentioned together, though without any attempt at identification. From this reference, as he notes himself, Professor Schelling gets his entry '*Julius Caesar, Trag.* Trinity, Oxford, n. d.' (vol. II, p. 579), entered in italics as a lost play, but this can only be the undated edition of *Caesar and Pompey* of which I have already spoken.

Dr Kern, the author of a German thesis on the sources of Chapman's play *Caesar and Pompey* (Halle, 1901), has introduced further confusion into this matter by misunderstanding and wresting two statements of Fleay's. Fleay, as is well known, held the curious theory that Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* was a condensation of two plays, *Caesar's Tragedy* and *Caesar's Revenge*, made after Shakespeare's retirement, possibly by Jonson (*Bibliographical Chronicle*, vol. II, p. 185 and *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 215). Kern, referring to Ward (vol. II, p. 139), makes Fleay assert that the play of 1607 served as *Vorlage*, i.e., model, for Shakespeare's play. Fleay, I venture to say, was not likely to make the mistake of calling a play dating from 1606 the model of one which he puts before 1601. Nor does he, Dr Kern to the contrary notwithstanding, mean the Trinity College play when he speaks 'of the old play on which Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* is founded' (*Life of Shakespeare*, p. 309). He means, as he says elsewhere (*Biographical Chronicle*, vol. I, p. 65), 'the Admiral's play of 1594,' that is the play mentioned by Henslowe on November 8 of that year. It is not always possible to say what was the final view of Mr Fleay on any topic connected with the history of the Elizabethan drama, but so far as I have been able to discover, he never accepted the identification of the Trinity College play with that mentioned by Henslowe.

And, after all, what possible ground is there for such an identification other than a similarity of name? I have protested elsewhere against the abuse of this argument, if argument it can be called. Nothing appears more certain from the bewildering mass of documents and references on which our knowledge of the production of the

Elizabethan drama depends, than the fact that there was no copyright in the names of plays, but that, on the contrary, a successful play was only too likely to be followed by another of the same, or almost the same, title, produced as a rival 'get-penny' by some rival company. We know, for example, that there were two *Hamlets*, two *Romeo and Juliets*, two *Richard IIIs* and two *King Lears*. The story of Caesar's rivalry with Pompey, his death, and the tragic revenge taken on his murderers, was one which appealed with special force to the Elizabethan playwright. As far back as February 1, 156$\frac{1}{2}$, a played called *Julyus Sesar* was performed at Court, 'the earliest instance of a subject from Roman history being brought upon the stage' (Collier, *History of Dramatic Poetry*, vol. I, p. 180). *The Third Blast* of *Retreat from Plays* (1580) mentions 'the life of Pompeie and the martial affaires of Caesar' as among the 'histories' which were represented, or, according to the author, misrepresented, upon the stage (Hazlitt, *English Drama, Documents*, p. 145). In 158$\frac{9}{1}$ a play called *The Storie of Pompey* was played before the Queen at Whitehall on Twelfth Night by the children of Paul's (Feuillerat, *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels*, p. 336). Professor Schelling takes this to be the same as *The History of Caesar and Pompey* mentioned by Gosson (*Playes Confuted*, 1581 or 1582, p. 188 in Hazlitt's *Documents*). This seems to me unlikely as Gosson's words, 'the history of Caesar and Pompey, and the play of the Fabii at the Theatre' (i.e., Burbage's play-house), point to a play in the possession of some other company than Paul's Boys, who had their own play-house and are not known ever to have performed at the Theatre. (On the vexed question of the situation of Paul's Boys' play-house consult Maas, *Äussere Geschichte der englischen Theatertruppen*, pp. 160 ff.)

A play on Julius Caesar, presumably in Latin, is mentioned in the article in the *Retrospective Review* already cited, as having been performed at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1582. The writer of the article ascribes it to 'Dr Gedes, chaplain to Queen Elizabeth,' but this can only be a mistake, perhaps a misprint, for Edes, or Eedes, Canon of Christ Church, and chaplain to the queen, who is mentioned by Meres as among 'our best for Tragedy.' Malone (*Variorum Shakespeare*, vol. XII, p. 2) mentions a Latin play on the death of Caesar by Eedes, which was performed at Christ Church in 1582, and this is, no doubt, the one alluded to in the *Retrospective Review*.

Henslowe's *Diary* mentions '*seser and pompie*' as first performed by the Admiral's Men on Nov. 8, 1594, and '*The* 2 *P*^{te} *of sesore*' on June 18, 1595.

Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* may be dated about 1601, and apparently its great success provoked the rival company to an extraordinary effort, for Henslowe records, under the date of May 22, 1602, the advance of a sum of five pounds 'to give unto Antony Munday, Michael Drayton, Webster, Middleton, and the rest in earnest of a book called *Caesar's Fall* (*sesers ffalle*).' This seems a truly formidable combination, but we know nothing as to its result. No record exists of this play's production, much less of its publication.

Another play on Julius Caesar, this time of the strictest Senecan type, appeared in 1607. This is Sir William Alexander's *The Tragedy of Julius Caesar*, probably composed between 1604 and 1606, and published in *The Monarchicke Tragedies* of 1607.

Finally we have, in addition to the Trinity College play, Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey, A Roman Tragedy*, published in 1631, but written, as the author states in the dedication, 'long since,' and the Latin play on Julius Caesar by Thomas May already referred to as existing—if it still exists—only in manuscript.

This list of plays on Julius Caesar embraces, I believe, all of which we have any knowledge, but it is probable enough that there were others of the same period dealing with this topic of which we have not even a mention. Incomplete as this list may be, however, it is long enough to show the popularity of the theme, and the folly of attempting to identify two plays on this subject, because of a mere similarity of name.

There are, on the other hand, arguments of no inconsiderable weight against such an identification. In the first place *The Tragedy of Caesar and Pompey* was performed, not before, but by, the students of Trinity College. Now all that we know of the academic drama of Elizabethan times goes to show that the students performed plays written especially for them, either by one of their own number, or by a college Don of dramatic gifts, a Gager or an Edes. *Hamlet* and *Volpone* were indeed performed at Oxford, but by professional actors, Shakespeare's own company, not by the students. How indeed should it have been otherwise? Dramatic performances at a University in those days were not mere revivals of past glories, as with us, but the cultivation of a living art. For the academic drama, in English and Latin, was, as the researches of Schelling, Churchill, and Keller have shown, very much alive in the days of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. I can imagine few more incredible suppositions—and our histories of the Elizabethan drama abound in dubious hypotheses—than that the

students of Trinity, wanting a play for some festive occasion in 1606, should have turned to Father Henslowe and Prince Henry's men for the loan of the play-book of a drama brought out by the Admiral's company, as far back as 1594.

It seems to me almost equally incredible, from another point of view, that the College play which has come down to us should be identical with Henslowe's '*seser and pompie.*' We know, to be sure, nothing about this latter besides its name except the date of its first performance and the company that produced it. But these two facts enable us to hazard some conjecture as to its probable type. The Admiral's Company in 1594 stood under the leadership of Alleyn and were, in their choice of tragedies, dominated by the tradition of Marlowe. A glance through the pages of Henslowe's *Diary* for 1594 shows us what sort of tragedies they preferred; from June 3, 1594 to March 14 of 1595 we have an unbroken series of plays. Among them *Tamburlaine*, counting both parts, ranks as first, with seventeen performances, the *Jew of Malta* and *Dr Faustus* are equal for second place with eleven each, and the *Massacre at Paris* comes close up with nine, or perhaps ten performances. The only serious plays which approach those of Marlowe in popularity during this period are the lost *Bellendon* [Belin Dun]—*The Famous chronicle of Henry I, with the life and death of Bellin Dun, the first thief that was ever hanged in England*, says the entry of the play in S. R. May 17, 1594,—and the lost *Tasso's Melancholy*, probably containing a 'star part' for Alleyne as the mad poet. '*Seser and pompie*' stands well up among the other plays with a record of seven performances between November 8, 1594, and March 14, 1595, and was revived once more in connection with a less successful second part on June 25, 1595. This mention of a second part, by the way, is itself an argument against the identity of the Admiral's play with that of Trinity College. The latter, as we shall see, exhausts its subject so that no continuation is possible. Now if we may argue from the known to the unknown, have we not reason to suppose that the Admiral's play was a vigorous chronicle of the wars of Caesar and Pompey with plenty of action of tickle the groundlings, and, I fancy, a fine mouth-filling part for Alleyne as Caesar? Is the Trinity College play anything of this kind, or does it at all resemble the sort of play that could have been performed with a fair measure of success before such an audience as frequented the Rose in 1594? A brief analysis of the play will, I think, show the contrary.

It opens in the approved academic fashion by the entrance and

soliloquising prologue of a supernatural figure, Discord, who informs the audience as to the war between Caesar and Pompey and the former's victory at Pharsalia. As Discord leaves the stage a number of fugitives from the battle, Pompey himself, Titinius, and Brutus enter and discuss the situation. Pompey resolves to seek aid in Egypt; Brutus remains, and in the next scene is taken prisoner and pardoned by Caesar. In the third scene Caesar, in debate with Antony, Dolabella, and a Lord, expresses his remorse for having precipitated civil war, but is still of a mind to pursue Pompey. In the next scene Cato laments the loss of Roman liberty. In the fifth we get the parting between Pompey and Cornelia, and in the last scene of the act the meeting of Caesar with Cleopatra, who seeks his aid to restore her to the throne of Egypt. Caesar falls in love with her, and so also does Antony, who is present at the interview.

Discord appears again to open the second act with a rhetorical soliloquy, and gives place to Achillas and Sempronius who meet and murder Pompey on the Egyptian sea-shore. In the second scene Cornelia laments Pompey's death and kills herself. In the third Caesar pronounces sentence on the murderers and departs to feast with Cleopatra; Antony remains to soliloquise on his hopeless passion for the Egyptian. Then Brutus brings the news of Pompey's death to a group of Roman nobles who are persuaded by Cicero to submit to Caesar; and in the last scene of the act we have a long dialogue between Cato and his son, closing with the suicide of Cato.

Discord opens the third act with a summons to Brutus and Cassius to slay Caesar. Cassius enters to avow his purpose of killing the Dictator. The second scene introduces Caesar's triumph. Antony remains on the stage to lament his separation from Cleopatra. His *Bonus Genius* appears to rebuke his folly and to prophecy his ruin through Cleopatra. He thereupon resolves to 'wake from idle dream.' The third scene consists of a dialogue between Brutus and Cassius in which the former takes an oath to slay Caesar. The fourth represents the festival of Lupercalia, Antony's repeated offer of a crown to Caesar, and Caesar's repeated refusal. This scene, not the first scene of Act II, as Collier (*Annals of the Stage*, vol. III, p. 124, n.) states, contains a flagrant plagiarism from the *Faerie Queene*. Compare:

> The restless mind that harbours sorrowing thoughts,
> And is with child of noble enterprise,
> Doth never cease from honor's toilsome task,
> Till it brings forth Eternal glories brood.

with Spenser's lines:

> The noble hart, that harbours vertuous thought,
> And is with child of glorious great intent,
> Can never rest, untill it forth have brought
> Th'eternall brood of glorie excellent.
>
> *Faerie Queene*, I, v, i.

The fifth scene represents the meeting of the conspirators, Brutus, Cassius, Casca, Cumber [*sic*], and Trebonius. In the last scene of the act Calpurnia seeks to keep Caesar from the Senate by reciting her ominous dream, an augur brings in bad omens, and Caesar decides to remain at home. He is, however, over-persuaded by Cassius who enters at this moment. The scene then shifts, without any division in the text, to the Senate house, where Caesar is attacked by the conspirators. He defends himself by a long speech until Brutus, who has been detaining Antony outside, enters and stabs him, whereupon he falls and dies. Antony enters to lament his death and vow revenge, and bears off the body in his arms. One of the murderers, by the way, bears the name of Bucolian, a fact which seems to point to Appian's History, *Bell. Civ.*, II, 113, 117, as a source.

The fourth act opens with the usual soliloquy of Discord, who introduces the remaining action by foretelling the revenge of Caesar at Philippi. Octavian then laments the death of Caesar, whose funeral is now performed, accompanied by Antony's oration. It is worth noting that this oration does not bear the slightest resemblance to the speech in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. This play, it is true, was not printed till 1623, but if so unscrupulous a plagiarist as the author of *Caesar and Pompey* had ever seen it performed, he could hardly have refrained from introducing some reminiscence of it into his own play.

The second scene of this act shows Brutus and Cassius at the head of an army, to whom Titinius, playing the part of a Senecan *nuntius*, reports the disturbances in Rome. The leaders decide to levy more troops and to meet in Thessaly. The third scene opens with a monologue by the Ghost of Caesar; Antony and Octavian enter at swords' points, but are persuaded by the affable familiar Ghost to renounce their quarrel and unite in a vow of revenge upon his murderers.

The last act consists of one long undivided scene. Discord opens it by calling up the 'Stygian fiends' to make a hell on earth. Brutus and Cassius enter at the head of an army, boasting of their conquests in the East, but Brutus is troubled by forebodings of approaching death, and by remorse for the murder of Caesar. After the departure of the

others the Ghost of Caesar enters to Brutus and warns him that he shall die that day by his own hand. The battle of Philippi is now supposed to be fought off the stage. Cato's son enters wounded, tells of the battle, and dies. Cassius sends Titinius for news of Brutus and in his absence kills himself. Titinius returns and kills himself. Brutus enters, dogged by the Ghost of Caesar, and kills himself. The revenge being accomplished in this satisfactory fashion, the play closes with a dialogue between the Ghost and Discord quite in the manner of the last scene of *The Spanish Tragedy*. A passage from the last speech of the Ghost will give some notion of the author's old fashioned versification and of his partiality for classical allusions:

> I will descend to mine eternal home
> Where everlastingly my quiet soul
> The sweet Elysium pleasure shall enjoy,
> And walk those fragrant flowery fields at rest:
> To which nor fair Adonis bower so rare
> Nor old Alcinous gardens may compare.
> There that same gentle father of the Spring
> Mild Zephyrus doth odours breath divine,
> Clothing the earth in painted bravery,
> The which nor Winter's rage nor scorching heat
> Or Summers sun can make it fall or fade,
> There with the mighty champions of old time
> And great Heroës of the Golden Age
> My dateless hours I'le spend in lasting joy.

It is evident from the above analysis, I think, that the Trinity College play is as unlike what we may fairly assume the Admiral's play to have been as could well be expected. It has no central dominating rôle in which Alleyne could have found scope for his powers. It is, indeed, entirely without that power of characterization which gives life and interest even to some of the crudest and most formless plays of the time. It has, in spite of the enormous amount of matter which the author has dragged in, curiously little action. Most of the scenes consist of detailed reports of actions off the stage, or of long tirades in which the speakers express their grief for the past or avow their determination for the future. There is no plot, in the proper sense of the word, nor any attempt at dramatic construction, but scene follows scene in purely chronological order. This is a method of dramatic composition that we are accustomed to associate with the popular rather than the academic Senecan drama; but Churchill and Keller (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, vol. 39, p. 257) have shown that a number of academic tragedies followed the lines of the popular chronicle plays rather than the stricter Senecan form. Finally there is not the slightest trace in this play of the broad realistic humour which is so frequent,

not to say constant, in the early popular drama and which we may reasonably assume to have appeared in the Admiral's play.

The Trinity College play, then, fully deserves the name by which it is commonly known, the 'Academic Tragedy' of *Caesar and Pompey*. It is modelled on the Senecan imitations so popular at the Universities and Inns of Court, but shows also the influence of the popular drama. I fancy the author's favourite play must have been the *Spanish Tragedy*, which itself represents this popularization of Seneca. The stiff and monotonous blank verse reminds one far more of Kyd than of Marlowe or Shakespeare. It is indeed curiously archaic to have been written in 1606, a fact which may, perhaps, suggest that it was composed by an elderly Don, rather than by an undergraduate. It is crowded to a most unusual degree with classical allusions such as would appeal to an academic audience. If the dates in MS. on the title-page refer to performances of this play, it must have been a marked favourite at Oxford, and this conjecture is corroborated by the fact that two printed editions were called for, whereas the majority of academic tragedies remain in manuscript to the present day. But we can by no stretch of imagination conceive of it as successful to the degree of seven performances in four months at the Rose.

We may then assert pretty positively that the Trinity College play has no connection whatever—beyond a similarity of name—with the lost play of '*seser and pompie*' mentioned by Henslowe. Nor has it any connection with Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, which precedes it, nor with Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey* which follows it in date. The one play with which it may possibly have had some connection is the lost *Julius Caesar* of Edes. Dull in itself it is yet of interest historically as the first known example of a tragedy written in English on a classical theme, which was performed at either of the Universities.

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THE REVISION OF 'KING LEAR.'

THE modern text of *King Lear* is founded partly on the editions brought out in Shakespeare's own lifetime, the two quartos of 1608, and partly on the folio of 1623. None of these, of course, were published by him, nor can they be considered authoritative.

A comparison between the early quartos and the first folio shows the usual marks of difference: the quartos (very much alike) were no doubt pirated editions, badly printed, badly spelt, and not divided into scenes; the folio is much better work from the publishers' point of view, but it was edited by actors and is likely to have been affected by some sort of stage corruption, and like several other plays in the folio, it has been shortened.

The question at issue is whether the folio edition shows also any traces of revision by the hand of Shakespeare.

Whether the missing passages could have been dropped by his authority is a question hardly worth arguing: it is certain that the folio version is cut for the stage, and even if Shakespeare mutilated his own text to suit an Elizabethan audience we could never know it: we could only say that the cuts were more or less judicious. Whether Shakespeare ever revised *King Lear* is a question, therefore, which cannot depend for its solution on the missing passages, unless indeed something new takes their place. As a matter of fact there is new matter in the folio, though it does not usually replace something dropped: it throws a great deal of light, however, on the question of a revision. So also would alterations; but in this play, except verbal differences, there are very few, and verbal differences are not much to argue from.

The dropped passages, the new passages, and the verbal differences have all been used to support and to refute the hypothesis of a revision. Delius, after much discussion, comes to the emphatic conclusion that no revision has taken place. Koppel, dealing with the matter at equal

length, arrives at an opposite conclusion. Schmidt follows Delius, and with few exceptions the modern critics take the same view,—against a revision. Mr Craig in the Arden edition, writing of the difference between quarto and folio says, 'We cannot with any certainty determine whether the author was in any way responsible for these differences. My study of the facts leads me to believe that he was not, and that we have no evidence that from the time he handed over the play to his Company, leaving it to them to deal with at their pleasure, he took any further care of it.'

I venture to question that opinion, because it seems to me that several important arguments have been lost sight of, and a line of reasoning is possible which has not yet been followed.

If every case is taken where the folio introduces new matter not found in the quartos, it happens in an extraordinary number of instances that the new matter is not necessary to the sense and would show no gap if omitted. Only 5 lines out of a total of 95 (according to Koppel's counting 110, but I am reckoning complete lines only) are in this sense necessary. When we consider how badly printed the quartos are, the fact is significant. Koppel has already noted and commented upon it.

What is equally significant, and what has not yet been noticed, is that the new matter, though thoroughly Shakespearean in manner, except perhaps one passage, sometimes shows traces of afterthought, as if it had been added when the original was not absolutely fresh in memory. As will be seen later, there are other characteristics suggesting afterthought, and it is often possible to detect a profound meaning in them. It is from this point of view that I propose discussing the new passages.

It would be well, if the case were being stated for the first time, to quote every case where the quarto[1] is supplemented by the folio; but Koppel has already done this, and, as might have been expected, a large number are inconclusive. I shall merely give references to these inconclusive instances, noting them as negative evidence in showing no gap if they are dropped. I omit single words and incomplete lines, unless spoken by a new character. The scenes and line numbers are from the Globe edition; the spelling has been modernised.

I, i, 164:

Albany and Cornwall. Dear sir, forbear.

[1] The text of the two quartos is substantially the same, and they are therefore referred to as 'the quarto.'

The line clashes with the 'do' which begins Kent's reply, and we find in the folio that 'do' has been omitted; modern editions retain it, and I suspect wrongly.

The rejection of 'do' points to a revision and suggests that 'Dear sir, forbear' is new matter, and not an instance of omission on the part of the quarto. The new line gives emphasis to Lear's rash temper—even Cornwall is moved to protest;—a similar interjection later (Albany: 'Pray, sir, be patient,' I, iv, 284) is also found only in the folio. Both could be omitted without showing a gap.

I, ii, 181—187. Edmund is speaking (after 'that's my fear')

> .....I pray you, have a continent forbearance till the speed of his rage goes slower; and, as I say, retire with me to my lodging, from whence I will fitly bring you to hear my lord speak: pray ye, go; there's my key: if you do stir abroad, go armed.
>
> *Edgar.* Armed, brother!

For this the quarto has 'go armed' after 'advise you to the best': modern editions, perhaps unnecessarily, retain it.

The folio lines, I suspect, were added to explain how it is that Edgar is supposed to have written to Edmund. They introduce for the first and last time a 'lodging' for Edmund that is other than Gloucester's home. The improbability of Edgar writing to Edmund when presumably both lived in the same house, is so obvious that something seemed wanting to make the device credible; Gloucester, it will be remembered, believes in it at once. One gathers from this passage that Edmund's lodging, where Edgar is to conceal himself and to which he is supposed to have written, is placed outside Gloucester's house: there is no other way of accounting for 'If you do stir abroad, go armed'; hiding in Gloucester's house would be odd enough, but going in and out of it, whether armed or not, would be madness. But this introduces a new difficulty. Everywhere else in the play it appears that Edgar, Edmund and Gloucester lived together: they are together in this scene and all three seem thoroughly at home; they are together again in II, i, and it is impossible to suppose anywhere else than in Gloucester's house, and at the same time this is evidently the place where Edgar has been in hiding ('Thy father watches; oh, sir, fly this place'). As Mr Bradley points out[1], they would never have been living together in II, i, after Edgar's warning, unless they had been doing so before.

The conclusion is forced upon us that Shakespeare's original conception was that Edmund should be living, as one would expect, in Gloucester's house; with this supposition we can accept the letter-

[1] *Modern Language Review*, October 1908 and January 1909.

writing as a rather clumsy stage device, but common enough. The new 'lodging' gave realism where realism was wanted, while the resulting confusion of places would be unnoticed.

There is a second inconsistency in the passage. If it always formed part of the original text why should Edgar say, almost immediately after being told to retire with Edmund to his lodging, 'Shall I hear from you anon'?

I, iv, 345—356:

Gon. This man hath had good counsel:—a hundred knights!
'Tis politic and safe to let him keep
At point a hundred knights: yes, that, on every dream,
Each buzz, each fancy, each complaint, dislike,
He may enguard his dotage with their powers,
And hold our lives in mercy. Oswald, I say!
Alb. Well, you may fear too far.
Gon. Safer than trust too far.
Let me still take away the harms I fear,
Not fear still to be taken: I know his heart.
What he hath uttered I have writ my sister:
If she sustain him and his hundred knights
When I have show'd the unfitness.—

For this the quarto has:

Gon. What, Oswald, ho!
Oswald. Here, madam—

and omits the 'What, Oswald, ho!' of l. 336. The folio lines here show several indications of insertion, while there is no gap if they are omitted.

In the first place they greatly extend the time after Oswald's first calling until his appearance: in the quarto he is not called until l. 345 and then appears immediately; in the folio his call is put back to l. 336, before the fool's exit, and by delaying his answer time is given for the conversation quoted.

The artistic advantage is obvious: Goneril is *already* waiting for Oswald before entering upon this discussion with her husband; she spends an idle moment with him, interjecting her remarks with another impatient call, and breaks off the moment Oswald appears, not even caring to finish her sentence. If the quarto had merely dropped the Goneril-Albany discussion there would be no reason to find Oswald's first call displaced; it could never have happened by chance. The call seems purposely to have been put back in the folio in order to give a proper setting to new matter, that Goneril's explanation should be in character and perfunctory[1]. It is worth noticing in this connec-

[1] The 'What, Oswald, ho!' of line 336 coming immediately after 'Pray you content' is in the same vein.

tion that I, iii, 16–20 is omitted in the folio and that possibly I, iii, 345–356 takes its place: from an artistic point of view it is better that Goneril should explain herself to her husband rather than to herself or to Oswald.

In the second place the folio passage is closely connected with another of six lines, II, iv, 142—47, which also is found only in the folio. It occurs early in the first meeting of Lear with Regan and shows that Regan knows the details of the quarrel—that Goneril has 'restrained the riots of your followers'—and knows them through a letter[1]. It may be supposed that Shakespeare had intended from the first that his audience should find Regan in possession of this knowledge before Lear's arrival, but seeing that the point was not sufficiently clear, inserted the two passages, the one where Goneril describes the contents of her letter, and the other where Regan shows her knowledge of it.

The passage moreover contains some slight inconsistencies which suggest a rather careless insertion. Goneril says, 'What he hath uttered I have writ my sister.' Almost immediately afterwards in the part included in both folio and quarto she asks Oswald 'Have you writ that letter to my sister?' There are two inconsistencies here, and another in 'What he hath uttered,' for as far as we know from the play Lear's only utterances on the subject are during this scene.

II, iv, 21:

Kent. By Juno, I swear, ay!

It may be noted that the folio omits the preceding 'No, no they would not' and 'Yes, they have.' Perhaps this is a case of substitution.

II, iv, 99, 100:

Glou. Well, my good lord, I have inform'd them so.
Lear. Inform'd them! Dost thou understand me, man?

and almost immediately afterwards, Lear speaking:

Are they inform'd of this? My breath and blood!

Koppel has already noticed that these passages are related together, the first leading up to and accounting for the second. It is most unlikely that accidental omission in the quarto should have affected both, and as intentional omissions to shorten they are not worth making.

They are telling lines—as indeed are all the folio additions—but there is no gap if they are omitted.

[1] The presumed contents of the letter (I, iii, 25 and iv, 358), if we took the quarto version only, would be that Goneril had decided to slack her former services and let his knights have colder looks.

II, iv, 142—147. The passage has already been noted. There is no hiatus, as Koppel observes, if it is omitted.

III, i, 22—29:

> Who have—as who have not, that their great stars
> Throned and set high?—servants, who seem no less,
> Which are to France the spies and speculations
> Intelligent of our state; what hath been seen,
> Either in snuffs and packings of the dukes,
> Or the hard rein which both of them have borne
> Against the old kind king; or something deeper,
> Whereof, perchance, these are but furnishings.

This passage, wanting in the quarto, is immediately followed, ll. 30–42, by a passage omitted in the folio. For this coincidence one explanation only seems possible: the folio text must have been printed from a corrected quarto and the addition (in the folio) taken by the printers as a substitute for the quarto text. A similar instance occurs in *Love's Labour's Lost*, only in the reverse direction: a passage has been corrected and the correction taken to be an addition, so that we get the two versions one after the other. Here, in *Lear*, an addition has been taken to be a substitution. It is quite clear from the wording that it is not meant to be so: the two halves of the speech are of a totally different character, and the half which the folio omits is much the more important.

From an analysis of these two halves we may conclude that the folio portion, quoted above, was very likely not a part of the original text, but that the quarto portion must certainly have been so, and was not intended to be dropped. The quarto omits nothing essential: the division between Albany and Cornwall is given, then the expected arrival of the French, and finally Kent's request that his hearer should go to Dover and report. The folio enlarges a little on Albany and Cornwall's quarrel, and gives a reason how the French came to know of it; but it omits the essentials—the landing of the French and the despatch of the gentleman to Dover. Kent's 'If you shall see Cordelia, as no doubt you will' comes as a complete surprise in consequence. The passage as it stands in the folio looks like an insertion. We are told that France has heard of the 'hard rein' which *both* the dukes have borne against the King. It is quite impossible of course that France could then have heard anything of Cornwall and Regan's action, and it is not at all likely that Shakespeare would have written so, if the play as we have it had been produced at one time.

Koppel supposes the folio omission to be intentional—the sufferings of Lear being known in France (in the quarto only the quarrel between the

Dukes, of which advantage is taken for invasion), it becomes superfluous to send the gentleman to Dover. There is left for the audience a cheering assurance of approaching deliverance given by hints. Koppel in fact attempts to explain all the folio omissions as Shakespeare's own work and as deliberate improvements. The question of revision, however, does not depend on his success.

III, ii, 79—95. The fool remains behind to make a speech which is quite out of harmony with the rest of the scene. Most critics have taken it to be a non-Shakespearean insertion.

III, iv, 26, 27:

> In, boy; go first. You houseless poverty—
> Nay, get thee in. I'll pray, and then I'll sleep,

and almost immediately afterwards, l. 38,

> *Edgar.* Fathom and half, fathom and half! Poor Tom!

There is again a distinct relation between these two passages, suggesting they were not cases of accidental omission. In the first Lear tells the fool to go before him into the hovel, and this naturally leads up to the second. The effect of Edgar's exclamation depends on our having seen the fool go in and having had our attention drawn to it.

III, vi, 92:

> *Fool.* And I'll go to bed at noon.

These are the last words spoken by the fool. It has been suggested by Mr Bradley that they are to foretell his death, and with the assistance of the actor they could easily convey that impression. But for them the fool passes out of the play as if forgotten or thrown aside after serving Shakespeare's purpose; it is possible that he added the line to remedy this, as an afterthought—surely the simplest and most effective way that even he could have chosen.

V, iii, 88:

> *Goneril.* An interlude!

and in the next line: 'Let the trumpet sound.' The latter restores the verse broken by 'An interlude,' thereby suggesting insertion. In the quarto Albany's speech runs on without interruption; it is very unlikely that the interruption and the half line then required to keep the verse should both have been accidentally dropped.

V, iii, 310:

> Do you see this? Look on her, look, her ps,
> Look there, look there!

In the quarto Lear dies with a cry of pain. 'Break, heart, I prithee break' there given to Lear must in any case belong to Kent. In the folio the cry of pain is omitted, and Lear dies apparently with a sudden joy: he imagines a sign of life in Cordelia and swoons away on the instant. At first Shakespeare may not have intended to spare us anything: the function of evil is to destroy, was the dominant thought; and the pursuit of it relentless. A change of this kind would be in character with his later work.

The following passages supply only negative evidence, as leaving no gap if they are omitted: I, i, 42—5, 50 f., 65, 85 f., iv, 284, II, iv, 47—55, 299, IV, i, 7—9, ii, 26, vi, 169—173, v, ii, 11 (the last line), iii, 76, 222.

There are two passages which were probably accidental omissions in the quarto, and two which certainly were so. The first two, I, i, 90 f. ('*Lear.* Nothing! *Cordelia.* Nothing') and III, iv, 18 ('In such a night To shut me out! Pour on: I will endure'), are very intelligible printers' mistakes, the eye being caught by a repetition of the same words later; it should be noticed, however, that they show no gap if omitted. The others are III, vi, 13—15, v, iii, 144.

This completes the list of cases in which the folio gives matter which is not found in the quarto. From their number and nature only two suppositions seem tenable: either that the producer of the quarto eliminated passages here and there with the utmost nicety—hardly ever, as did the folio editors, making the mistake of showing a gap—that he sometimes removed subtle inconsistencies, but showed no other motive whatever for his selection; or our added passages are as a rule genuine insertions, and that a revision by the author has taken place. The general character of the quarto text, with its extraordinary blunders and careless editing, altogether negatives the former supposition and we are driven to accept a revision.

Supposing this has taken place, we should expect a certain amount of pruning as well as grafting; we can guess at one or two places. For instance I, iii, 16—20 and 24 may, as already noted, be intentional omissions in exchange for I, iii, 345—356; so too Edgar's soliloquy III, vi, 108—122, which is so little wanted that some editors suppose it not to be Shakespeare's.

As regards alterations. There are verbal differences, as there always are, between folio and quarto; but few, if any, show marks of revision. The folio corrects a great many obvious blunders; but, apart from that, is by no means always the better text. Two cases only seem recog-

nisable. In II, ii, 1 Oswald meets Kent outside Gloucester's castle; in the folio he says 'Good dawning to thee, friend'; in the quarto 'Good even.' Later on, in II, iv, 89, 90, Lear arrives and learns that Regan and Cornwall refuse to see him; in the folio he says:

> Deny to speak with me? They are sick? They are weary?
> They have travell'd all the night?

In the quarto 'all the night' appears as 'hard to-night.' The time scheme is confused in this play, as in *Othello,* and would be still more so without the folio corrections. In the quarto it would appear that Kent and Oswald arrive in the evening and Lear early next morning; this clashes with what follows (Sc. iv, line 303 'The night comes on') and the time for both may very well have been set back in revision.

But for this possible instance, the quarto text appears to have been left untouched—not a line blotted—and the revision practically confined to making omissions and additions. From the nature of the added passages we see its purpose and scope: they are explanatory, to intensify the dramatic effect, and sometimes to strike a far deeper note. As examples of this last we may note Lear's tenderness to the fool, his pathetic desire for sleep (III, iv, 26, 27), the fool's consciousness of death (III, vi, 92), Gloucester's resignation (V, ii, 11), Goneril's scorn ('An interlude!' V, iii, 88), and finally the shock which kills Lear, intense joy for intense pain (V, iii, 310). There is everywhere improvement.

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NOTES ON GRILLPARZER'S 'KÖNIG OTTOKARS GLÜCK UND ENDE.'

I.

'Der Österreichische Plutarch' and 'Das Archiv für Historie, Geographie, Staats- und Kriegskunst' as Sources of Grillparzer's Drama.

The fact that the Austrian periodicals *Der österreichische Plutarch* and *Das Archiv für Historie, Geographie, Staats- und Kriegskunst* were utilised by Grillparzer in the composition of his drama, has been long recognised. Alfred Klaar in the introduction to his investigation of the sources of *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*[1], mentions Wurzbach, Fäulhammer, and particularly Robert Zimmermann (*Studien und Kritiken zur Philosophie und Aesthetik*, II, pp. 63 ff.) as having drawn attention to the matter. Klaar himself devotes considerable space (pp. 12 ff.) to the two publications; he cites a number of articles bearing on Ottokar's period, and the footnotes scattered throughout his work show that he had kept them in view as possible sources of Grillparzer's play. In the present paper I have endeavoured to supplement his investigations by a systematic examination of the works in question.

Both the *Österreichische Plutarch* (1807–14) and the *Archiv* (1810–22) were founded by the eminent Viennese savant Joseph Hormayr, his object being to rouse by means of them the interest of his fellow-countrymen in their glorious past. It was only natural under these circumstances that he should devote considerable space to the stirring times of Ottokar and Rudolf. Grillparzer, of course, read both journals, and he no doubt drew from them in the first instance the ideas and motives on which his proposed drama was built up. The minuter study of chronicles and more remote historical sources, to which

[1] Alfred Klaar, *König Ottokars Glück und Ende. Eine Untersuchung über die Quellen der Grillparzer'schen Tragödie.* Leipzig, 1885.

Grillparzer's notebooks bear testimony, would naturally belong to a stage in the plan when the main lines of the drama were already determined; and even in the case of these, Hormayr's periodicals constituted a kind of intermediary. Moreover, as Klaar mentions (p. 14), Hormayr in his criticism of Grillparzer's drama (*Neues Archiv*, 1825, Nos. 22, 23, 24, 26, 32, 33, 34) claims for himself no small credit for having stimulated and assisted the poet by the articles which appeared in his publications.

The *Österreichische Plutarch* contains a series of biographies of the great men of Austrian history. Of chief importance for our present purpose are the numbers containing the life of Rudolf von Hapsburg (1. Bändchen, 1807), and that of Ottokar (15. Bändchen, 1808)[1].

In the former of these articles the following points have bearing on *König Ottokars Glück und Ende*. On pp. 22 ff. the struggle between Rudolf and Ottokar is described. Ottokar is characterised (p. 23) as: 'ein Fürst an Geist und Körper voll Kraft und ewig unruhiger Thätigkeit,...kriegliebend und ehrgeitzig ohne alle Schranken. Lange Gewohnheit des Glückes erklärt allein alle seine Zaghaftigkeit nach seinem ersten misslungenen Unternehmen wider den neuen König den deutschen. Nicht lange wägende, kaltblutige Überlegung, sondern ungestümme Empfindung und Begier lag allem zum Grunde, was er sprach und that,...er belohnte königlich und strafte unmenschlich.'

P. 23. [Ottokar hatte] 'die Belehnung darüber von Richard von Cornwall erhalten[2].'

P. 24. 'Ottokar in der Zuversicht, Böhmen könne niemahls erobert werden[3].'

P. 25. The defection of the Styrian nobles: Pettau[4], Lichtenstein[5]. Also Pfannenberg, Stubenberg, Seldenhofen[6].

P. 28. 'Ottokar, gebeugt und voll Ingrimms, liess sich in der feyerlichen Versammlung aller anwesenden Reichs- und Heeresfürsten, im kaiserlichen Lager vor Rudolphen auf die Kniee nieder, und nahm

[1] Klaar, *l.c.*, p. 14. Klaar appears to have overlooked the life of Rudolf.

[2] III, iii, 141 (for convenience of reference I have numbered the lines of each scene separately):
Die Lehn von Böhmen gab mir König Richard!

[3] V, v, 132:
Du lügst, kein Böhme flieht!
and IV, 460:
Kein Böhme hat noch seinen Herrn verrathen!

[4] III, iii, 248: Pettauer surrenders to Rudolf.

[5] V, iii: Lichtenstein fights against Ottokar.

[6] II, i, 484:
Eine Wehre, Heinrich!
Ihr, Ulrich Lichtenstein, Graf Bernhard Pfannberg,
Chol Seldenhoven, Wulfig Stubenberg,
Ihr gebt die Schwerter, und euch selbst in Haft!

die Lehen[1]. Österreich verliess er ungesäumt mit seinem ganzen Gefolg und Heere, begab sich zuerst nach Mähren[2], von dannen nach Prag[3].'

P. 29. 'Ottokars Gemahlin Kunigunde empfing ihn bey seiner Heimkehr mit den bittersten Vorwürfen[4].'

P. 30. 'Brünn ward all diesen Schaaren [d. h., den Hilfstruppen] zum Sammelplatze beschieden, Laa geplündert, und Drosendorf[5] durch Kriegsmaschinen und täglich wiederholte Stürme geängstigt.'

P. 31. Ottokar's 14 days' delay[6]. 'Durch die Untreue des Glückes erschüttert, wollte er in diesem Vernichtungskampfe nichts des falschen Glückes Launen überlassen, und sich vor allem des festen Drosendorf[7] in seinem Rücken versichern.'

P. 32. 'Die Cumanen, ein Riesenschlag, furchtbar anzuschauen[8] mit ihren langen verworrenen Bärten, um Brust und Nacken flatternde Zöpfen[9].... Schleuder und Bogen handhabten sie trefflich[10]. Sogleich wurden die cumanischen Reuter über Weidendorf voraus geschickt, vom Feinde sichere Kundschaft einzuziehen[11]. Der Kaiser schlug (am 25ten August 1278) beim Flecken Stillfried sein Lager auf[12].'

P. 34. 'Ihr Banner führte der hundertjährige Ritter Conrad von Haslau[13].'

P. 35. Haslau stumbles. Heinrich von Lichtenstein seizes the

[1] Cp. Act III, v.
[2] IV, 4: Und irrt seitdem im Land herum von Mähren.
[3] The scene of Act IV is 'vor der Burg zu Prag.'
[4] IV, 114 ff.
[5, 6] V, i, 17: Erst stürmt er vierzehn Tage Drosendorf.
[7] V, i, 31:
Ottokar. Ich habe Drosendorf, der Rücken ist gesichert.
[8, 9] I, ii, 5:
Ein sonderbares Volk und sonderbar bewaffnet!
Weist her den' Säbel!
In the above account there is no mention of Säbel.
[10] I, ii, 11 f.:
Wozu soll der Haarschöpf
Da oben auf dem Scheitel?
Also I, ii, 52 f.:
...dass ihre Zottelbärte
Wie Schilfgras aus gedämmtem Wasser ragten.
[11] V, i, 1 f.:
Kumanen
Und Ungarn von des Kaisers Heere streifen,
Die March hinauf, im Rücken unsrer Stellung.
[12] V, i, 50 ff.:
Ottokar. Ich dacht' ich wär' in Stillfried.
Diener. Wir ritten gestern durch in dunkler Nacht.
Jetzt liegt der Kaiser drinnen.
[13] V, iv, 21 f.:
Dir, Konrad Haslau,...
Vertrau' ich Östreichs flatterndes Panier.

banner[1]. Rudolf fights with Herbod von Füllenstein. 'Da viele Ritter... zu Hilfe herbeyeilten, sprach er lächelnd: "Sorget nicht für einen einzelnen Menschen[2]"' etc. Ottokar's horse falls[3]. 'Seyfried von Merenberg und Berchthold Schenk von Emerberg, beyde selbst und in ihren Anverwandten von dem König gekränkt, erschlugen ihn, nach grimmigem Widerstande[4].' Rudolf laments Ottokar's death.

P. 46. Characterisation of Rudolf: 'Es ist fast ohne Beyspiel, dass er aus so geringem zu so grossem Glücke, bloss durch Muth und Weisheit emporgehoben, gleichwohl mitten im Laufe des Sieges, die edelste Mässigung und Grossmuth, Versöhnlichkeit gegen seine Feinde und dieselbe Biederkeit beybehielt, die dem mannhaften Grafen im Schweizerlande[5] Aller Herzen gewonnen hatte.' The article is accompanied by a portrait of Rudolf.

The second article, entitled 'Przemysl Ottokar der Zweite,' also, no doubt, suggested a great deal to Grillparzer. We note the following excerpts as of special importance for the play.

P. 34. The defeat of Bela at Kroissenbrunn, on June 26, 1260[6]. Bela renounces Styria, and Ottokar builds the monastery of Goldenkron and the town of Marchegg[7].

P. 37. Ottokar's divorce from Margaretha on the grounds of her relationship in the fifth degree[8], and of her taking the lesser vows on the death of her first husband[9]. Margaretha goes to Krain, dies there six years later and is buried at Lilienfeld. On October 25, 1261, Ottokar is married at Pressburg amid scenes of great magnificence to Kunigunde, the granddaughter of Bela. On August 9, 1262, he does homage at Aachen to King Richard for Austria and Styria[10]. In

[1] v, iv, 24 f.:
Ihr bleibt ihm nah, Herr Heinrich Lichtenstein,
Und wahrt des Manns.

[2] v, iv, 79 f.:
Ei, lasst ihn nur, ihr Herrn,
Das Fechten möcht' ich doch nicht ganz verlernen.

[3] v, v, 6: Sie haben mir das Pferd erstochen unterm Leib.

[4] v, v.

[5] Cp. Rudolf's conversation with the Schweizersoldat in Act III, iii, 30 ff.

[6] I, ii, 27 ff.

[7] I, ii, 34 f.:
Marchegg, so soll man mir die Stadt auch nennen,
Die ich dort baun will zu des Siegs Gedächtnis!

[8] I, ii, 165 ff.:
Und in Betracht, dass Ihr im vierten Grad
...unserm gnädigen Herrn verwandt.
Cp. Klaar, p. 32, Anm.

[9] I, ii, 172 f.:
...ein Gelübd'
Zu Trier gethan.

[10] III, iii, 141:
Die Lehn von Böhmen gab mir König Richard.

1264 he gives his daughter Kunigunde in marriage to Prince Bela, second son of King Bela.

P. 39. 'Benness von Diedicz, aus dem Geschlecht der Rosenberger, hatte eine schöne Tochter, Ottokar zwang sie zu seiner Lust. Der Vater und der Oheim Milota brüteten Rache, da warf der König beyde in Fesseln,...der Vater starb durch Henkers Hand. Milotan schenkte Ottokar die Freyheit und, was sehr unvorsichtig war, sein Vertrauen[1].'

P. 48. 'Als sich Ottokar...(im Frühjahr 1272) mit Friederich dem neuen Erzbischofe zu Salzburg verglich[2],... suchte er darunter vergeblich Seyfrieden von Merenberg, einen Lehensmann und Anhänger der Babenbergischen Gertrud. Er wurde hingerichtet. Ottokar scheint tiefe Reue über das unrühmliche Werk seines argwöhnischen Zornes empfunden zu haben.'

P. 49. On King Richard's death, Ottokar's old friend the Archbishop of Cologne, goes to Prague and asks him to accept the crown he had refused sixteen years before. Cp. p. 26: 'er wolle lieber Böhmens gewaltiger König seyn, als ein armer Kaiser wie Wilhelm.' Like Zawisch in the drama, a certain Andreas Rziczan advises Ottokar not to take it. Ottokar will not give a definite reply. Rudolf is chosen king at Frankfort on September 29, 1273, and crowned at Aachen[3] on October 28. He sends Friedrich von Zollern, Burggraf of Nürnberg, to demand the restitution of the stolen lands[4].

P. 53. Ottokar replies: 'Österreich besitze er durch Abtretung seiner ersten Gemahlinn, der unstreitigen Erbinn, Steyer habe er mit seinem guten Schwert den Ungarn aberobert, Kärnthen und Krain durch Erbschaft und andere gültige Verträge erworben[5].'

P. 55. Ottokar seeks supernatural aid in a dark forest.

Pp. 57, 58. Rudolf invests Vienna and Neuburg[6]. Meinhard von Tyrol attacks Steiermark, Kärnten and Krain. Ottokar, at a loss what to do, sets up his camp, first at Drosendorf, then at Korneuburg[7].

[1] IV, 512 f.:

Ich glaube wohl, dass du auch hassen kannst,
Betrügen nicht. Dir will ich mich vertraun!

[2] The Erzbischof von Salzburg is mentioned, Act III, iii, 151.

[3] III, ii, 59.

[4] II, 453 ff.

[5] II, 514 ff.:

Den Ungarn hab' ich Steier abgewonnen...
Vererbt ward Kärnthen mir von meinem Ohm..
Und Östreich brachte mir zur Morgengabe
Die Königin Margrethe, meine Gattin.

[6] The capture of these towns is reported Act III, iii, 226 ff.

[7] III, i, 36 f.:

Er lagert an der Donau,
Seitwärts Korneuburg.

Bruno von Ollmütz persuades him to consent to arbitration. On November 21, 1276, Ottokar is in the imperial camp. He relinquishes all claims to Austria, Steiermark, Kärnten, Krain, Portenau, the Windisch Mark and Eger[1], agrees to liberate the hostages and consents to a general amnesty. He offers homage for the 'böhmisch Cur' and the office of 'Erzschank.' In return, the 'Acht und Bann' is to be rescinded. He bends the knee publicly to Rudolf 'in der Gegenwart der versammelten Fürsten des Reiches.'

On arriving at Brünn he is assailed by his wife with bitter reproaches[2]. His fury now knows no bounds; he devastates the lands of the malcontents, and, to gain time for the final conflict, proceeds to make treaties. The Künringer in Austria and Paltram remain loyal to him.

P. 63. In a speech to Künringer Ottokar says: 'Alles habe seine Zeit.... Der im Winterfrost säen wollte, büsste durch ein Missjahr.... Am meisten aber brauche reife Erwägung des wilden Krieges zweifelhafter Ausgang[3].'

Pp. 64 ff. are very similar to the corresponding part of the life of Rudolf. Rudolf discovers the conspiracy to kill Ottokar and proclaims that Ottokar's life must be spared.

P. 66. Two knights attack Rudolf, but are defeated by him.

The remaining description of the battle, except the mourning of Rudolf over Ottokar's body (cp. Klaar, p. 110, note), offers few if any points of contact with the play. On pages 69 ff., however, there is a suggestive estimate of Ottokar's character and a discussion of his suitability for treatment in tragedy. This is reprinted in Nos. 55—56 of the *Archiv* (see below).

'Der ungestüme, strenge, nur stückweis kluge Ottokar hatte einen ruhigen, berechnenden, milden Gegner... er war ein böser Mann im Handeln mehr als im Vorsatz.... Den Frieden konnte er nicht lieben, den Widerstand nicht leiden, die Untreue nicht vergeben, nicht lavieren, nichts erwarten. Das sind Eigenschaften eines stürmischen, nicht eines schwarzen Gemüthes.... Ottokar war ein tragischer, Rudolph ein

[1] II, 507. The Burgraf of Nürnberg demands:

Und Österreich und Steier, Krain und Kärnthen,
Nebst Eger, Portenau, der wind'schen Mark.

[2] Her long tirade offers few points of comparison with Act IV. The expression 'Der Überwinder aller Völker zwischen der adriat'schen und baltischen See' reminds us of Ottokar's speech, Act I, ii, 222 ff.

[3] Cp. Act V, i, 42: Reife bringt die Zeit.
There is also possibly an echo of the expression 'Winterfrost' in 63 ff.:

Sonst war der Sommer warm
Der Winter Frost.

epischer Held. Jener, der Flut entgegen, die Umstände seinem Willen unterordnend, erkämpfte den eigenen Untergang. Dieser von der Flut getragen, seinen Willen nach den Umständen gestaltend, mehr benützend, als schaffend oder zwingend, endete in Sieg und Herrlichkeit—Rudolph stritt bauend, Ottokar zerstöhrend—Rudolf kriegte, weil er es nicht vermeiden, Ottokar weil er es nicht lassen konnte.... In ihm hat sich Macbeth, der König der Schotten, abgespiegelt. Wie diesen Shakespeare vorstellt, so könnte Ottokar aufgeführt werden. Beyde Gestalten würden der Geschichte zusagen, wie der Bühne. Shakespeare hat seine Könige nicht gemacht, er hat sie nur durchschaut. Beyde folgten dem, was sie für höhere Winke hielten, dem Rath der Zauberschwestern, beyde wurden durch ihre Königinnen zur That des Verderbens hingezogen, beyden war der Gedanke unerträglich, ihre Kronen auf den Häuptern der Söhne und Enkel ihrer Nebenbühler zu sehen, beyde hatten keine Rast, solange noch ein Blutverwandter des alten Stammes übrig war.... Beness war Banquo und Merenberg das Fife, aus welchem Ottokars Macduff hervorgieng. Beyde verlohren ihr Leben in der Schlacht, durch düster anhebenden Zweykampf.' The article concludes by emphasising the fatalistic element in Ottokar's career. The final words are: 'So ereilte Haralden bei Hastings,—bey Laa Ottokar,—Adolphen von Nassau bei Gelheim—bey Nancy Carl den kühnen—bey Bosworth Richarden III ein und dasselbe Schicksal—Es heisst Vergeltung!!'

Das Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegskunst, through which, as Klaar observes[1], articles bearing on Ottokar's life and times run like a red thread, appeared in Vienna from 1810 to 1822. I note the following as having bearing on Grillparzer's work:

1810. Nos. 53—54 (May 2). A review of Collin's *Rudolphiade* describing, *inter alia*, how Ottokar saw the spirit of his dead wife Margaretha before the battle of Marchfeld, how Milota fled without making any attack and how finally Ottokar plunged with berserker

[1] P. 16. Cp. A. Fäulhammer, *Franz Grillparzer, eine biographische Studie*, Graz, 1884, pp. 88 ff. Klaar, *l.c.*, pp. 14 ff., refers to the following articles: 1814, nos. 1—2, 'Die Schlacht im Marchfeld'; 1816, nos. 15—16, 'Rudolf von Hapsburg,' 1272; nos. 44—45, 'Bruno von Ollmütz'; nos. 125—126, 'Rudolf an Ottokar's Leiche,' 'Zavisch von Rosenberg,' 'Österreich unter den Königen Ottokar und Albrecht I'; 1817, nos. 125—126, 'Ob denn Oesterreichs Geschichte' etc.; 1820, nos. 53—54, 'Wie der König Ottokar seine Nichte' etc. Goedeke's *Grundriss*, 24 Heft., p. 419, mentions in addition: 1810, nos. 53—54, 'Collin's Rudolphiade'; nos. 55—56, 'Schatten der Vorwelt'; 1812, nos. 145—146, 'Seyfried von Mährenberg'; 1817, nos. 45 ff., 'Die Taufe Rudolphs von Hapsburg'; 1817, nos. 59 ff., 'Kaiser Rudolph und Herbort von Füllenstein'; 1817, nos. 111 f., 'Ottokar's Raub aus der Gruft von Znaym'; 1817, no. 142, 'Ottokar's Leichnam in Znaim.'

fury into the thick of the fight. The review is followed by extracts from Collin's poem[1]. (Cp. also Nos. 72, 73, 83, 90.)

1810. Nos. 55—56 (May 7). In these numbers a series of articles begins, entitled 'Schatten der Vorwelt.' The first of these deals with 'Der Böhmenkönig Ottokar,' but it is merely a reprint of the greater part of the life of Ottokar in the *Österreichische Plutarch* (see above).

1812. Nos. 145—146 (December 2). 'Seyfried von Mährenberg' by Ignatz Kollmann. This poem describes the fortunes of Seyfried von Mährenberg, a pious Styrian nobleman. Incensed at his absence from a festival, Ottokar sends troops to his castle to capture him. He is subjected to the most terrible tortures and despite the self-sacrifice of his daughter, who seeks to save his life by the most degrading possible condition, Ottokar has him secretly murdered. The daughter flees to a convent. Stubenberg, her betrothed, plans revenge, together with Mährenberg's nephew. The subsequent history of Ottokar's life is then related, including a description of the final battle and the episode of Herbort's duel with Rudolph (in which the former is killed). The poem concludes with a reference to the treachery of Milot and Zabusch, and culminates in the death of Ottokar at the hands of Stubenberg and Mährenberg. Ottokar is represented throughout as a black-hearted tyrant, who thoroughly deserves his fate. Verse 8 suggests comparison with the passage quoted above page 455, note 6. It runs:

> Herr Bernhard von Pfannberg und der von Wildon
> Der Pettauer Fritz an der Draue
> Mit Lichtenstein, Wülfing, des Stubenbergs Sohn, etc.

1814. Nos. 1—2 (January 3). 'Die Schlacht im Marchfelde.' This article begins with a reference to Napoleon and Wagram and mentions the titles of many chronicles. These may have been by this means brought to Grillparzer's notice.

1815. Nos. 46—47 (April 17). 'Ritterfeste, Gastmahle und Kleiderpracht im 13ten Jahrhundert.' This article contains a description (p. 184) of how Ottokar's niece Kunigunde is married to the Hungarian

[1] Beyond the glowing description of Austria in the beginning of Collin's *Rudolph von Habsburg*, which may have suggested the splendid lines given by Grillparzer to his Ottokar von Horneck in Act III, scene iii, it is difficult to trace any influence of this poem on the drama. The following points of similarity are, however, perhaps worth mentioning. Rudolph's admiration of minstrelsy (Fragment IV, Grillparzer, III, iii); his lending a horse to carry a priest across the river Aar (Fragment IV, 47 ff.; Grillparzer, I, ii, 365 ff.); the description of the Cumanen (Fragments V and VI; Grillparzer, I, ii, 5 ff.); Ladislaus' failure to recognise Rudolf owing to the latter's simple costume (Fragment VI; cp. Grillparzer, III, iii, 117 f.:

> Ich suche nun schon lange rechts und links;
> Wo habt ihr euren Kaiser, edle Herrn?)

prince Bela (cp. *Archiv*, 1820) amid scenes of great splendour. In honour of the event Ottokar builds a magnificent bridge over the Danube[1], and a great tournament takes place[2]. King Bela is present with his two sons and an escort of the highest nobility.

1815. Nos. 72—73 (June 16). 'Zustand der Wissenschaften und Künste in Österreich während des 13ten Jahrhunderts aus des Chorherrn Franz Kurz noch ungedruckte Geschichte; Österreich unter König Ottokar und Albrecht.' This paper is mostly concerned with the poetry of the age; Horneck and Ulrich von Lichtenstein are referred to.

1816. Nos. 15—16 (February 2). 'Rudolf von Hapsburg, 1278.' A poem which tells how Rudolf cast two men into chains who had been treacherous to Ottokar, and how he selected the Truchsess von Steyer to protect Ottokar in the battle.

1816. Nos. 33—34, 39, 42—43 (March 15). 'Österreich unter den Königen Ottokar und Albrecht I,' edited by Kurz.

1816. Nos. 44—45 (April 10). 'Bruno von Ollmütz, 1247–81,' by Professor Richter of Brünn (cp. 46—47). Mention is made here of Bruno's presence at Ottokar's wedding with Margaretha in Haimburg, and how he helped Ottokar in his struggle against Bela. 'Ottokars Übermuth war im Glücke kaum zu ertragen, im Unglück war er Tyrann, dennoch darf man es von Bruno rühmen, dass er ausgehalten bis ans Ende, ohne zu kriechen ohne sich durchzuwinden und seiner Würde das geringste zu vergeben...weit entfernt wie Milota, erduldete Kränkungen tückisch zu rächen, benahm er sich in der tragischen Periode nach dem ganzen Gehalte eines musterhaften Kirchenvaters eines rechtschaffenen Freundes und Ministers, geachtet selbst vom gerechten Feinde[3].' There is also a description of his attempt to reconcile Ottokar with Rudolf. Cp. Klaar, pp. 13, 61, 68 note.

1816. Nos. 61—64 (May 20). 'Zavisch von Rosenberg Sohn Budivogs Dynasten von Welisch,' by Franz Alvisius Wacck. The following passages from this article, which is also mentioned by Klaar (p. 13), have bearing on Grillparzer's drama: 'In jener Zeit lebte im benannten Königreiche Heinrich I von Rosenberg, welcher drey Söhne, Milota, Budivog und Vitko gezeugt hat.... Vom Budivog...entsprossen

[1] This has perhaps suggested Act I, ii, 70:

Ottokar. Die Moldaubrücke auch?
Bürgermeister. Nur gestern ward der letzte Stein gefügt.

[2] Cp. Act II, 217 f.:

Des Königs Hoheit naht,
Der ganze Zug; sie kommen vom Turnier!

[3] Here occur the words: 'dieser Bischof, der als geborner Deutscher den Zustand des Christenthums von der Ostsee bis an die Tieber und vom Rhein bis an die Weichsel selbst geschaut.' Cp. Act I, ii, 222; but see also pp. 459 and 470 of these notes.

vier Söhne, Zavisch, Vitko, Czenko und Wak. Mit den vortrefflichsten Gaben von der Natur ausgestattet, bezaubernd schön seine körperliche Gestalt, sein Benehmen athmend die ritterlichste Anmuth, war er [Zavisch] ein feiner, beliebter Höfling und da er sich bey seinen grossen Fähigkeiten auch auf die schönen Wissenschaften, nahmentlich die Dichtkunst verlegte, war er zugleich ein schöner Geist und sehr gebildeter Kopf... er lebte zu poetisch, und—nahm ein tragisches Ende. So trefflich der Kopf dieses Edelmannes war, so leidenschaftlich und verkehrt war sein Herz.' The essayist goes on to say that Kunigunde soon loved him more than her husband. He describes the offering of the crown to Ottokar and his refusal with the words: 'Dass er lieber ein reicher König in Böhmen, als ein armer Kaiser, wie Wilhelm gewesen seyn wolle.' Further, the revolt of the oppressed nobility, including Budivog and Zavisch. Zavisch flees to Rudolf; 'den Gedanken zu dieser Flucht gab vornehmlich die Königinn Kunegunde Zavischen... um ihren Gemahl der Lebensgefahr auszusetzen.' The battle of Marchfeld is then described; Milota commands the left wing; 'Zavisch, der inzwischen von Rudolphen zurückgekehrt war, und sich Ottokarn zum Scheine unterworfen hatte, führte einen Haufen von 2000 Mann an. Milota hatte schon vor der Schlacht Rudolphen heimlich berichtet, dass Ottokar nichts weniger als einen Angriff vermuthe.' Following the treachery of Milota and Zavisch, Ottokar is taken prisoner and slain in defiance of law and right. The rest of the article is taken up with the subsequent life of Zavisch and Kunigunde after their marriage. It should also be mentioned that the article is liberally supplied with footnotes referring to the chronicles. These would no doubt be of value to Grillparzer.

1816. Nos. 81—82 (July 5). 'Rudolf an Ottokars Leiche,' a poem by M. von Canaval. Cp. Klaar, p. 14. There is possibly an echo in Grillparzer of phrases such as: 'Nichts nimmt er mit sich ins Leichentuch[1],' and 'und so wie ich heute, gefallener dir, Verzeihe, verzeihe der Herr auch mir[2].'

1817. Nos. 45—46 (April 14). 'Die Taufe Rudolfs von Hapsburg' (1218).

1817. Nos. 59—60 (May 16). 'Kaiser Rudolf und Herbort von

[1] v, v, 164 ff.:

Und ist von Deinem Prunk und Reichthum allen
Nicht eine arme Decke Dir geblieben,
Als Leichentuch zu hüllen Deinen Leib.

[2] v, v, 173 f.:

Und Gott sei ihm und sei uns allen gnädig!
Bertha. Und vergib uns, als auch wir vergeben!

Füllenstein,' a poem by R...z. Herbort is brought to the Kaiser, challenges him to fight, and the Kaiser consents. Herbort, however, falls on his knees and asks his pardon. Rudolf gives him a safe-conduct to Poland, whence he had come.

1817. Nos. 111—112 (August 15). 'Ottokars Raub aus der Franciscaner-Gruft von Znaym im Jahre 1296.' How König Wenzel removed the corpse of Ottokar.

1817. No. 142. 'Ottokar's Leichnam in Znaym.'

1817. Nos. 125 and following (October 17 ff.). A series of articles on the subject: 'Ist denn des österreichischen Kaiserstaats Geschichte ärmer an herzerhebenden oder hochtragischen Stoffen für Dramaturgie, Ballade, Legende, Roman und bildende Kunst als die des Alterthums oder eines fremden Mittelalters.' Cp. Klaar, p. 14. The first article mentions various writers who have dealt with Austrian history, particularly Matthäus von Collin. Ottokar is not specially discussed.

1817. Nos. 125—126 (October 17). 'Ob der berühmte steyermärkische Minnesänger Ottokar von Horneck Mönch zu Admont gewesen?'

1817. Nos. 142—143. 'Ottokars Leichnam in Znaim.' (This article is missing from the British Museum copy of the *Archiv.*)

1818. Nos. 95—96 (August 10). An essay on Napoleon and Timur, comparing the two men. It may well have suggested to Grillparzer the comparison between Ottokar and Napoleon, which, we know, was present to his mind.

1820. Nos. 53—54 (May 3). 'Wie der Böhmenkönig Ottokar seine Nichte, die schöne Markgrafentochter von Brandenburg an Konig Bela von Ungarn zu Wien vermählt hat.' This is merely a modernised version of Horneck's chronicle.

W. E. Collinson.

London.

II.

The Relation of Grillparzer's Drama to Matthäus von Collin's 'Friedrich der Streitbare.'

In his article on *Matthäus von Collin* in *Euphorion*, Ergänzungsheft v (1901), J. Wihan has discussed (pp. 195—199) the similarity between that writer's *Friedrich der Streitbare* and Grillparzer's *König Ottokars Glück und Ende.* A careful study of Collin's play has led us to the conclusion that the indebtedness of Grillparzer to his predecessor was

somewhat more extensive than Wihan has stated: and we propose in the following paper to sum up briefly the similarities between the two plays. We have printed in italics those points to which Wihan has already drawn attention.

To look first at the general resemblances in the character and fate of the hero of each play. In both tragedies the hero *is obsessed by ambition* (*Friedrich*, I, iii, 99 f.; II, ii, 65 ff.; *Ottokar*, I, ii, 212 ff. etc.)[1]; he is self-reliant (*Friedrich*, I, i, 122 f.; *Ottokar*, I, ii, 251 f.); and he claims that his action in divorcing his wife *is determined by consideration for his people* and their posterity (*Friedrich*, I, i, 103 ff., 125 ff.; II, i, 234 ff.; *Ottokar*, I, ii, 118, 124—132; v, v, 66). His fall is due to a *weakening of his will* (*Friedrich*, v, i, 16 ff.; *Ottokar*, v, i, 6, 10 f., 26 ff.). *He repents* (*Friedrich*, II, ii, 103 ff., IV, ii, 1 ff.; *Ottokar*, v, v, 29 ff.). Finally, *he submits to God's will* (*Friedrich*, III, i, 331; *Ottokar*, v, i, 46, 52). Like Friedrich, Ottokar *anticipates his death* (*Friedrich*, III, i, 410; v, ii, 70 f., 107 ff.; *Ottokar*, v, ii, 60 f.), and *recognises it as a just punishment* (*Friedrich*, v, ii, 100 ff.; *Ottokar*, v, v, 64 ff., 185 ff.); both make a last desperate stand (*Friedrich*, v, ii, 39; *Ottokar*, IV, 543; v, i, 54—59).

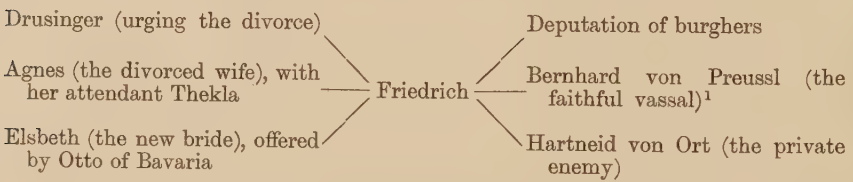
The heroine of each drama recognises the injustice of her divorce (*Friedrich*, I, i, 25 ff.; *Ottokar*, I, i, 236 ff.), but submits (*Friedrich*, I, i, 74 ff.; *Ottokar*, I, i, 369—381; ii, 202 ff.); Margaretha *intercedes for her husband with his enemy* (*Ottokar*, III, iii, 218 f.; v, ii, 17): so also does Agnes (*Friedrich*, IV, ii, 267; v, iii, 169 f.); *each is her husband's good genius, without whom he falls* (*Friedrich*, v, i, 16 ff.; *Ottokar*, v, i, 14).

That the main theme—the ambitious monarch who comes to the inevitable fall—is the same in both dramas is not perhaps of much moment in an age when poets had before their eyes the career of Napoleon and his relations to Josephine. Were this all, a comparison between the plays could hardly be expected to do more than show what a great dramatic poet was able to make of materials out of which an inferior writer only succeeded in constructing a dull and mediocre tragedy. But a study of the *technique* of the two works and especially of the grouping of the characters, seems to us to lead to the conclusion that Grillparzer may, after all, have learned a good deal from Collin's drama.

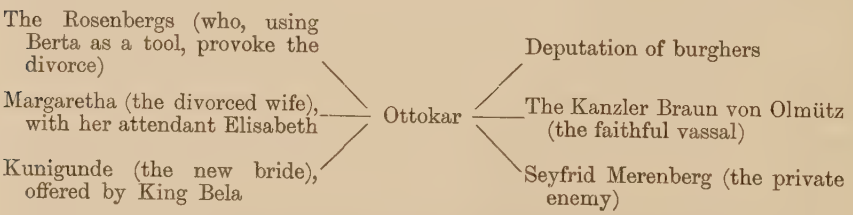
[1] In each drama we have, for convenience of reference, numbered the lines of each scene separately. *Friedrich der Streitbare* is to be found in Matthäus von Collin's *Dramatische Dichtungen*, I. Band, Pest, 1813, pp. 1—148.

It will make this aspect of the case clearer if we first give a brief outline of the subject of *Friedrich der Streitbare.* Friedrich, the last of the Babenberg Dukes of Austria, is ambitious of raising his duchy to a kingdom, and desires to leave an heir to his domains. He therefore divorces his childless wife, Agnes of Meran, urged to this course by Drusinger von Schrattenthal. The latter hopes by thus encouraging the duke's ambitions to further certain plans of his own. Friedrich is offered a second bride in Elsbeth, daughter of Otto, Duke of Bavaria. Meanwhile, a deputation from several Austrian towns begs Friedrich to reconsider his decision and reinstate Agnes; and Agnes's father, Otto of Meran, in alliance with King Bela of Hungary, takes up arms against him on her behalf. Friedrich is successful in preventing a meeting between Otto and Bela, by keeping the former shut up in a valley near Lunz. Fortune, however, ultimately goes against him. He makes a final desperate effort to regain the ground he is losing, but is struck down by a private enemy, Hartneid von Ort. To the last he is accompanied by his faithful vassal Bernhard von Preussl.

The grouping of the various characters in the drama round the central figure might be graphically represented as follows:


Drusinger (urging the divorce)
Agnes (the divorced wife), with her attendant Thekla
Elsbeth (the new bride), offered by Otto of Bavaria
Friedrich
Deputation of burghers
Bernhard von Preussl (the faithful vassal)[1]
Hartneid von Ort (the private enemy)

Now in Grillparzer's tragedy we find that Ottokar stands in similar relations to the characters by which he is surrounded. Thus:


The Rosenbergs (who, using Berta as a tool, provoke the divorce)
Margaretha (the divorced wife), with her attendant Elisabeth
Kunigunde (the new bride), offered by King Bela
Ottokar
Deputation of burghers
The Kanzler Braun von Olmütz (the faithful vassal)
Seyfrid Merenberg (the private enemy)

The points of similarity between the two plays arising out of this parallel grouping, are briefly as follows:

1. The pretext for the divorce is in each case that the hero and his wife, although *wedded for years* (*Friedrich,* I, i, 20; *Ottokar,* I, i, 278),

[1] In the first act this function is filled by the Archbishop.

are of too near kin (*Friedrich*, I, i, 9; *Ottokar*, I, i, 270; ii, 164 ff.); and that *there is no heir* (*Friedrich*, I, i, 139; ii, 126 f.; *Ottokar*, I, i, 252; ii, 142). Both Agnes and Margaretha look back in retrospect on their married life (*Friedrich*, I, i, 51 ff.; iii, 33 ff.; *Ottokar*, I, i, 279—342), and, after the divorce is pronounced, *each retires to some distance*, Agnes to Lunz (*Friedrich*, I, iii, 21), Margaretha to Krems (*Ottokar*, I, ii, 204). Finally, *each monarch meets again his injured wife* (*Friedrich*, IV, ii; v, iii; *Ottokar*, v, ii).

2. In *Friedrich der Streitbare* Drusinger instigates the divorce in order to gain his own ends. Cp. Act I, sc. ii, 88—96:

> *Bernhard von Preussl.* Wer hat zuerst des Herzogs feur'gen Wunsch
> Für diesen Thron erzeugt? war't ihr es nicht?
> So sehr des Herrn zu leichte Gunst missbrauchend,
> Dass ihr ihm riethet, alles hinzuopfern
> Für dieses Thrones Glanz, auch selbst die Gatinn,
> Die liebende Gefährtinn seines Lebens.
> Hab ich euch nicht bey allem, was nur heilig,
> Solch Unrecht nicht zu üben, hoch beschworen?
> Habt ihr mich je gehört? was wollt ihr nun?

In *Ottokar* this rôle is played by the family of the Rosenbergs. Cp. Act I, sc. i, 134—136, where Zawisch, addressing Benesch and Milota, says:

> Ihr wolltet selbst des Königs Eh' getrennt,
> Habt jahrelang euch weidlich drum bemüht,
> Sie ist getrennt.

3. In each case a new bride is offered to the hero: in *Friedrich der Streitbare* Elsbeth, daughter of Duke Otto of Bavaria. Cp. Act II, sc. i, 302—311:

> *Otto.* Euch will ich sie vertraun, der ihrer werth....
> Drum reicht mir eure Hand, die wackre, starke,
> Auf dass sich drein des Vaters Rechte füge,
> Und seyd als lieber Sohn hiemit begrüsst.

In *Ottokar*, Kunigunde, 'grand-daughter' of King Bela. Act I, sc. ii, 134—137:

> *Ottokar.* Zur Festigung des nun geschlossnen Friedens
> Hat König Bela mir die Hand geboten
> Von Kunigunden, seinem Enkelkind,
> Des Herzogs von Massovien einz'gen Tochter.

4. The private enemy is in both dramas a traitor. In Collin's play Friedrich says to Hartneid von Ort (Act II, sc. i, 180 f.):

> Anfangs ein edler Mann, wardst du Verräther
> An Land und Herzog.

In the beginning of Act II of *Ottokar* Seyfried von Merenberg is brought in as a prisoner by Milota. Friedrich is killed by Hartneid

von Ort and Frangipani (Act v, sc. iii, 221—242); Ottokar by Seyfried von Merenberg (Act v, sc. v, 80 ff.).

5. The faithful vassal is in the one drama, Bernhard von Preussl[1] (*Friedrich,* I, iii, 153 ff.; III, i), in the other the Kanzler, Braun von Olmütz (*Ottokar,* III, ii; IV, i, 228 ff.); and each stands by his master to the end (*Friedrich,* end; *Ottokar,* v, v, 160). We have already noted that in *Friedrich der Streitbare* the Erzbischof carries out the formalities of the divorce in the opening scene, whereas this duty falls to the Kanzler in *Ottokar* (I, ii, 150 ff.). The deputation of burghers is in *Friedrich* introduced by Bernhard (II, i), in *Ottokar* by the Kanzler (I, ii).

6. In both dramas the fifth act brings *the decisive battle and catastrophe.* Ottokar's strategy to entice his enemy from the hills into the valley and then to surround him:

> Ich hab' ihn hergelockt in diese Berge
> Mit vorgespiegelter, verstellter Flucht.
> Dringt er nun vor: die Mitte weicht zurück,
> Die Flügel schliessen sich—dann gute Nacht, Herr Kaiser!
> Ich hab' ihn, wie die Maus im Loch!
>
> (Act v, sc. i, 34 ff.),

resembles that of Friedrich in Act IV, sc. i, 1 ff.

The monarch's horse is killed under him (*Friedrich,* v, iii, 223 f.; *Ottokar,* v, v, 6), and he himself falls, as we have seen, by the hand of a private enemy. Agnes's words over Friedrich's bier might be paralleled by Elizabeth's words over Ottokar in the final scene.

It seems clear from the above that the ground plan of Grillparzer's drama, so far as it deals with Ottokar's personal fate—there is, of course, no question of the struggle between Ottokar and Rudolf—is based on that of *Friedrich der Streitbare,* that is to say, the technical scheme which Grillparzer has adopted for his work comes from Matthäus von Collin.

A careful study of Grillparzer's use of his historical materials—which is beyond the scope of the present paper—would, we believe, bear this out. His faithfulness to history is proverbial; but he had an almost overwhelming mass of records and traditions to draw upon; it would be interesting therefore to see how he selected just such events and motives as were necessary to his ground plan. For example, it was historically the confiscation of land which led to the enmity between Zawisch and Ottokar. For this Grillparzer substituted and magnified

[1] Bernhard Preussl, 'der älteste und vetrauteste Freund des Herzogs,' was also to have played a part in Grillparzer's own drama of *Friedrich der Streitbare.*

the episode of Berta, which opened up greater dramatic possibilities. The other tools, which Zawisch employs to bring about his revenge—the 'private enemy' the 'new bride'—have all their prototypes in *Friedrich der Streitbare.*

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III.

GRILLPARZER AND KOTZEBUE'S 'RUDOLPH VON HAPSBURG UND OTTOKAR VON BÖHMEN.'

IT might seem hardly likely that Grillparzer could have learned anything from Kotzebue's trivial sentimental play *Rudolph von Hapsburg und Ottokar von Böhmen,* which was produced in Vienna in 1815[1]. He dismisses it rather contemptuously, but with perfect justice, in his autobiography as a drama which has for its hero 'eine Art Kinderschreck, ohne dass dabei jemand ein Arges gehabt hätte[2].' But it must not be forgotten that it was the chief play dealing with the theme that Grillparzer had an opportunity of seeing on the stage[3], and it is likely that certain reminiscences of it remained in his memory. A comparison of Kotzebue's play with *König Ottokars Glück und Ende,* which was completed in the autumn of 1823, at least seems justified.

In the first act of *Rudolph von Hapsburg und Ottokar von Böhmen* we are afforded a glimpse of Ottokar at the height of his career—the theme of Act I of Grillparzer's tragedy. Rudolf is reluctant to accept the imperial crown, and has misgivings with regard to his former friend Ottokar:

> Als Erbe schon von Böhmen und Mähren reich
> Musst' ihm sein Schwert noch neue Länder schaffen:
> Die Steyermark, das blüh'nde Österreich.
> In Krain und Kärnthen sehn wir ihn gebieten,
> Und siegreich streckt er von der Raab den Speer
> Bis wo die Bayern ihre Gränze hüten,
> Vom Adriat'schen bis an's Balt'sche Meer.
>
> (Act I, sc. vi.)

[1] Cp. *Euphorion,* v. Ergänzungsheft, 1901, p. 168, note.
[2] *Selbstbiographie* (*Sämtliche Werke,* XIX), pp. 117 f.
[3] The only other dramas on this theme produced on the Viennese stage were Ziegler's *Thekla, die Wienerin,* 1809, and Mynert's *Rudolph von Hapsburg,* 1812. Cp. *Euphorion,* ibid.

a passage which reminds one at once of Ottokar's account of his own power in Grillparzer's drama:

> In Böhmen herrsch' ich, bin in Mähren mächtig.
> Zu Östreich hab' ich Steier mir erkämpft,
> Mein Oheim siecht, der Kärnthen nach mir lässt...
> Vom Belt bis fern zum adriat'schen Golf,
> Vom Inn bis zu der Weichsel kaltem Strand
> Ist niemand, der nicht Ottokarn gehorcht.
>
> (Act I, sc. ii[1].)

The second act of both plays again sets forth a similar phase in Ottokar's career. Grillparzer's king defies the newly-elected emperor and contemptuously dismisses the Burggraf von Nürnberg who has been sent to obtain Ottokar's homage. The scene with the Burggraf in Kotzebue's play is on similar lines; in both plays Ottokar defends himself against the charge of withholding his lands and urges his right of independent conquest. On the other hand, the sentimental and artificial love-plot of Kotzebue's play, in which—an obvious imitation of *Wallenstein*—Rudolf's son Albrecht loves Ottokar's daughter Agnes, can hardly be paralleled with the skilful interweaving of the Zawisch-Kunigunde episode in *König Ottokars Glück und Ende* with the political action.

The pretended submission of Ottokar is the main event of the third act of both plays. With Kotzebue it is Regensburg who induces Ottokar to offer homage to the emperor, his motive being that Ottokar may thereby gain more support for his cause and the emperor be lulled into a state of false security. Regensburg refers to the dearth in the camp and the defections from the king's cause. Ottokar exclaims:

> Von Feinden umringt—von meinem Adel verlassen!—
> Auch reisst der Mangel schon im Lager ein!
>
> (Act III, sc. i.)

In Grillparzer it is the Kanzler who urges the king, and from love of humanity and desire for peace. He, too, refers to the distress in the camp:

> *Kanzler.* O Gott!
> Die Krankheit herrscht, der Mangel herrscht im Lager.
> *Ottokar.* Die Krankheit: Furcht, und Mangel wohl an Muth.
>
> (Act III, sc. i.)

No sooner has Kotzebue's hero sworn the oath of allegiance than he realises to the full his humiliation, and when he passes out of Rudolf's presence he gives vent to his feelings in the most violent threats. Grillparzer's Ottokar is in the same state of mind at the end of the

[1] Cp. notes to pages 459 and 462 above.

fourth act, although this is, with finer poetic restraint, hinted rather than expressed. The act closes with the king tearing off his cloak and casting away his crown; he rushes out uttering the laconic 'Fort!' Here is the beginning of what in both plays is the next stage in the action, Ottokar's revolt, which occupies the greater part of the fourth and fifth acts in Kotzebue and Act IV in Grillparzer. The latter's king is urged to action by the heartless and unsympathetic character of his queen; Kotzebue's Kunigunde is also cold and contemptuous towards Ottokar; but she is at the same time the Amazon who would give battle herself and bewails her husband's lost courage.

The last act in both dramas (in Kotzebue the sixth) brings the catastrophe. The battle scene is introduced in both by a monologue by Rudolf:

> Der Morgen graut, die letzten Sterne glimmen.
> (Kotzebue, Act VI, sc. i.)
>
> Die Sonne steigt aus Nebeln herrlich auf:
> Es wird ein schöner Tag!
> (Grillparzer, Act V, sc. iv.)

In the earlier drama Rudolf discovers Ottokar bleeding from a mortal wound and deserted by all; before his death he becomes reconciled to his daughter and repents. This gives Rudolf the opportunity of addressing a moral sermon to his sons on the vanity of human wishes and especially on the cause of Ottokar's downfall—his feverish thirst for glory. Grillparzer's hero also repents on the day of his death and begs Margaretha's forgiveness of the wrong he has done her. In both plays Rudolf meets the dead king's relations at his bier; in both, Ottokar's last care is for his people:

> Den Meinen Schonung—
> (Kotzebue, Act VI, sc. ix.)
>
> So triff mich, aber schone meines Volks!
> (Grillparzer, Act V, sc. v.)

The sententious pointing of the moral with which Rudolf closes Grillparzer's tragedy makes us inclined to think that Grillparzer had borrowed a little more from his predecessor than was consistent with his own finer art.

In the deeper matter of characterisation Grillparzer had nothing to learn from Kotzebue; his Ottokar is incomparably finer than the essentially 'bürgerliche' hero of the latter's play. One sees, however, in Kotzebue's portrait of Rudolf the clearly marked tradition and something of this has undoubtedly been accepted by Grillparzer. Rudolf's

sense of justice, his generosity—in the 'Bürgerscenen' of both dramas, for instance—his religious nature, are all similarly emphasised by both poets. Both dramatists make use of two incidents in Rudolf's career which shed light on his character: the escort he gave the Bishop of Mainz across the Alps (Kotzebue, Act I, sc. iv; Grillparzer, Act I, sc. ii, 370 ff.), and his assistance to a priest who was bringing the holy communion to a dying man (Kotzebue, Act III, sc. iv; Grillparzer, Act I, sc. ii, 365 ff.). It was thus only a turn of the action, a suggestion here and there for which Grillparzer was indebted to Kotzebue. The Austrian dramatist's work is Shakespearean in its structure, shows fine, psychological insight and contains passages of great poetic beauty. Kotzebue's treatment of the same theme is merely a 'comédie larmoyante' where the *dramatis personae* are royalties only in name, the whole being filled with the sentimentality that gave his 'lumbering loads' such a European reputation.

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FIFTEENTH CENTURY CAROLS BY JOHN AUDELAY.

ALL that is known of John Audelay is derived from the solitary and mutilated manuscript of his poems which forms MS. Douce 302. The facts have been set out by J. O. Halliwell in the preface to the selected *Poems of John Audelay* edited by him for the Percy Society in 1844, and by Dr J. E. Wülfing of Bonn in a very full article on 'Der Dichter John Audelay und sein Werk' in *Anglia*, XVIII (1896), 175. Audelay frequently names himself at the close of a poem, with a view to obtaining the prayers of his hearers or readers, and generally describes himself as 'Ion þe blynde Awdlay.' The spelling of his name preferred by the scribe appears to be 'Awdlay,' but 'Audlay,' 'Audley' and 'Awdelay' are also found. It will avoid an invidious choice if we follow Halliwell and Dr Wülfing in writing 'Audelay,' a form which apparently the scribe does not use. At two places in the manuscript fuller details are preserved. At the close of what was once the twenty-seventh and has now, owing to the loss of the first part of the manuscript, become the eighteenth section, Audelay writes:

As I lay seke in my langure
In an abbay here be west,
þis boke I made with gret dolour,
When I myȝt not slep ne haue no rest.

Thereafter comes the following colophon:

Finito libro: sit laus & gloria Christo | liber vocatur: concilium conciencie sic nominatur | Aut scala celi: & vita salutis eterni | Iste liber fuit compositus per Iohannem Awdelay | capellanum. qui fuit secus & surdus in sua | Visitacione. Ad honorem domini nostri Iesu Christi. | & ad exemplum aliorum in monasterio de haghmon. Anno domini millesimo cccc^{mo} | visecimo. vi^{to} cuius anime propicietur deus Amen.

Thus we get the definite date of 1426 for the completion of the first division of the manuscript, containing a series of elaborate theological and moral pieces, evidently intended to form a single treatise. The final poem of this division opens with the words:

Here I conclud al my makyng.

But clearly Audelay lived to write more, for eleven more sections follow in the manuscript, under some of which several short poems

are grouped together. Thus the twenty-five carols here printed have the common number XXXV in the manuscript. At the close of the whole book comes another bit of autobiography:

No mon þis book he take away
Ny kutt owte noo leef—y say forwhy—
For hit ys sacrelege, sirus, y 3ow say,
Beþ acursed in þe dede truly.
3ef 3e wil haue any copi,
Askus leeue & 3e shul haue;
To pray for hym specialy
That hyt made 3our soules to saue,
Ion þe blynde Awdelay;
The furst prest to þe lord Strange he was
Of þys chauntre her in þis place,
That made þis bok by goddus grace,
Deeff, siek, blynd as he lay.
Cuius anime propicietur deus.

Probably the second division of the poems does not differ widely in date from the first. One of the carols (xii) is on Henry VI, who is described as 'ful 3ong tender of age,' and was probably written quite early in the reign, which began in 1422. The manuscript itself may well be contemporary. It is not likely to be in Audelay's own hand, as he was blind. Moreover a marginal note blames 'þe defawte of þe wrytere' for an error. Dr Wülfing thinks that it was taken down from dictation and that the numerous interlineations and corrections, which still leave certain passages unintelligible, represent a revision left incomplete at the author's death. The whole of the poems may have been composed on Audelay's sick-bed in Haghmond Abbey, a house of Augustinian canons four miles north-east of Shrewsbury. But Halliwell and others can hardly be right in calling Audelay a 'canon,' and even a 'monk.' He may have sought the abbey as a hospital, but he was evidently himself a secular *capellanus* or chantry priest, probably serving a chantry in the immediate neighbourhood of Haghmond. The Lord Strange whom he mentions as patron of the chantry was probably Richard Lestrange, Lord Strange of Knockin, who died c. 1449. Audelay calls himself not only the 'blynd' but also sometimes the 'synful' Audelay, and his laments over his past life seem to have more than mere convention behind them. Here is an *apologia* which, with slight changes of expression, he often repeats:

Meruel 3e not of þis makyng,
Fore I me excuse hit is not I,
þis was þe hole gost wercheng,
Þat sayd þese wordis so fayþfully;
Fore I quoþ neuer bot hye foly;
God haþ me chastyst fore my leuyng.

One is tempted to conjecture that in his youth John Audelay had been a Goliard, an errant clerk, one more acquainted with mundane than with spiritual song.

Indeed, the whole interest of Audelay lies for us in the appearance amongst his verse, at an ascertainable and early date, of 'caroles in cristemas' belonging to precisely that type of pious and festive song to which the name of 'Christmas carol' has traditionally adhered, and in the probable relation of such pious carols to the secular *caroles* or dance-songs from which they must, in some sense, have inherited their name. One can hardly doubt that this relation is an example of the process, extremely familiar in the history of lyric, by which religion has attempted to sanctify to its own uses habits of song, of far other than religious origin, upon which it was bound to look with disfavour, but which proved so deeply rooted in the holiday instincts, even of Christianized peoples, as to be quite incapable of direct eradication. It is not necessary to repeat the evidence for the transfer to Christmas and the persistence there of the world-old customs belonging to the heathen winter feast, or for the inclusion amongst those customs of songs to dancing measures, the wanton *cantica* or *ballationes* or *caraulae* of so many ecclesiastical prohibitions. M. Jeanroy and others have traced the filiation between the *caraulae* of the farming folk and the *caroles* of courtly hall and bower, which have left a few complete *chansons* and many burdens or *refrains* embedded in the strata of mediaeval French literature. The burden was of the essence of the *carole*, representing the share in its activity taken by the company of dancers as they leaped hand-in-hand in a riotous ring. Naturally, therefore, it was repetitive, for it had to be in the mouths of all; and between the repetitions it was the function of the leader who controlled the movements of the throng to advance the story or sentiment of the *chanson* with his *couplets*, and at the end of each to give the signal which should start once more the exultant outcry. The derivation of John Audelay's 'caroles in cristemas' from the *chansons de carole* is apparent in the fact that they have precisely the structure which is required by such an organization of the dance. This is a little obscured by the arrangement of the manuscript, but it seems clear that the greater length of the first stanza of each carol is due to the prefixing of a burden. This was not improbably sung through at the beginning of the performance, in order to fix it in the minds of the company; but it was certainly also meant to be repeated after each stanza. In twenty-one out of the twenty-five carols the burden consists of two lines on a single rhyme; in two cases

(Nos. xi, xxiii) of two lines which do not rhyme with each other; in one case (No. xvii) of four lines on two rhymes; and in one case (No. xv) of the Christmas jubilation 'Nowell.' The stanzas themselves vary in complexity, but the great majority of them belong to one or other of two normal types. The first of these, of which there are eleven examples (Nos. vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xii, xiv, xix, xx, xxi, xxv), is very simple, consisting of a triplet on a single rhyme, followed by a single line which rhymes with the burden. This arrangement suggests itself as the primitive one, not only because it is the commonest of all, but because of the easy and natural way in which the change of rhyme rings a bell, as it were, to warn the chorus that their turn is come[1]. And it is in fact to be found in some of the earliest French *chansons de carole* (K. Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen*, I, 22, 23, 24, 25; II, 82, 83, 91; cf. A. Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France*, 398), where it perhaps represents an advance upon a still more primitive arrangement by which the stanza and the burden were each on a single and different rhyme. Here is the French example which comes nearest to Audelay's plan; it also serves to illustrate why he wanted to sanctify the *caroles*.

Soufres, maris, et si ne vos anuit,
Demain m'ares et mes amis anuit.

Je vous deffenc k'un seul mot n'en parles:
Soufres, maris, et si ne vous mouves,
La nuis est courte, a par mains me rares
Qant mes amis ara fait sen deduit.

Soufres, maris, et si ne vous anuit,
Demain m'ares et mes amis anuit.

In most of the French parallels, however, the burden is on two rhymes, of which only one rhymes with the *couplet*.

Audelay's second normal type, of which there are eight examples (Nos. i, ii, iii, iv, v, xiii, xvi, xxii) is a little more elaborate. The stanza is a quatrain on two alternating rhymes, followed by a fifth line rhyming with the burden. This fifth line is a shortened one or *cauda*, and insignificant in content, clearly intended as a mere introduction to the burden. The two normal types account for nineteen out of Audelay's twenty-five carols. In the other six they are slightly modified in various directions. But the fundamental distinction between the leader's part

[1] While passing these pages for press, we cull an illustration of the need for a signal from a description of a tap-room ditty in an article on 'The Real Rustic at Home' by Mr T. A. Higginson in the *Westminster Gazette* for 17 September, 1910, 'To call his neighbour to his aid in the chorus, he gave him, at the end of each verse, a violent thump in the ribs, still looking straight in front of him, but finding the same spot every time.'

and the uniform burden assigned to the chorus is maintained throughout. The most elaborate essay of Audelay's art is to be found in No. xi, in which the chorus is brought in twice during each stanza, and the poem therefore assumes a dialogue form. A little reconstruction of the manuscript text is required to make the arrangement quite clear; it is apparently intended to be the same in each stanza, but is differently abbreviated.

Leader What tyþyngis bryngst vs, messangere,
and Chorus. Of cristis borþ þis new eris day?
Leader. A babe is borne of hye natewre,
A prynce of pese þat euer schal be;
Off heuen & erþe he haþ þe cewre;
His lordship is eternete.
Seche wonder tyþyngis ȝe may here.
Chorus. What tyþyngis bryngst vs, messangere?
Leader. Þat god & mon is hon in fere,
Hour syn had mad bot fyndis pray.
Chorus. What tyþyngis bryngst vs, messangere,
Of cristis borþ þis new eris day?

It must not be assumed, from the accident that John Audelay's is the only name attached to a collection of religious carols that he was necessarily an innovator as regards this particular way of writing. One at least of the anonymous collections, that in MS. Sloane 2593, is equally early, and contains one poem whose allusions suggest the middle of the fourteenth century. This manuscript repeats Audelay's No. vi, while his Nos. xvii and xviii appear in the sixteenth century MS. Balliol 354, and carols resembling his No. xi and probably derived either therefrom or from a common source, are set to music by John Dunstable, or some composer of his school, in MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. O. 3. 58 and in MS. Selden B. 26, both of the fifteenth century. It is perhaps worth noting that in the Sloane MS. the earliest type of metrical structure found in Audelay still predominates, and that in the later collections it is relatively far less common. It is no doubt unlikely *a priori* that the process of sanctifying a type of song already in existence in the twelfth century should have been deferred to the fifteenth. But if Audelay had predecessors, their carols are lost, and what is perhaps even more regrettable, the secular carols which were their models are lost too. It must not of course be assumed that these were, in any strict sense, folk-song, although the festival customs to which they belonged have their obvious origin in folk-ritual. At any rate English folk-song must have undergone a good deal of transformation before it put on the French dress of a *carole*, and

learnt to pin its success upon the device of rhyme, which formed an integral part of the invading alien metres.

The twenty-five carols are here printed for the first time in their entirety from MS. Douce 302, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford[1]. The manuscript consists of ii + 36 leaves of parchment, $10\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ in., written in double columns and in a clear hand, but with a good many corrections. At least twelve leaves have been lost at the beginning of the manuscript[2]. The carols occupy ff. 27^{v}—32, ff. 30 and 31 being interchanged by a binder's error. The titles are rubricated in the manuscript. The manuscript may be dated 1426–49; 'about the second quarter of the fifteenth century,' as Madan says. Notes in the manuscript itself state that it passed through the hands of 'William Vyott,' a minstrel of Coventry, and was given by 'on Wyatt a mynstral' to 'Jhon Barkre...a chanon of Lawnd,' during the fifteenth century. Afterwards it belonged to Dr Richard Farmer. In 1844, shortly after Douce's collection had been deposited in the Bodleian, J. O. Halliwell printed for the Percy Society[3] a selection from this manuscript: 'only a small portion of it; for the MS. is scarcely worthy of being published entire, and is, indeed, principally valuable as exhibiting a faithful specimen of the Salopian dialect at so early a period.' None of the carols, curiously enough, were deemed worthy of being published by Halliwell, with the exception of that on Henry VI, which he included in his introductory remarks.

The Audelay version of the carol beginning 'Welcum ȝole' (f. 28) was printed in 1852 by W. Sandys in his *Christmastide*; in his *Christmas Carols* (1833) Sandys had printed the variant from MS. Sloane 2593. In *Early English Lyrics* (1907) the present editors printed Audelay's 'There is a floure sprung of a tre' (f. 30^{v})[4] in preference to the later version in MS. Balliol 354. Dr Wülfing has long had a complete edition of the manuscript in hand for the Early English Text Society, who were good enough to assent through the late Dr Furnivall to our partial anticipation of their enterprise.

[1] The Bodleian serial number is 21876. See Madan's *Catalogue*, iv, 585—6, whence our description is for the most part taken.

[2] A list of the contents is given in the 1840 *Catalogue* of the Douce bequest, 50—52, and a full analysis by J. E. Wülfing in *Anglia*, xviii, 175.

[3] *The Poems of John Audelay. A Specimen of the Shropshire Dialect in the Fifteenth Century* (Percy Society, xlvii).

[4] Misnumbered f. 31^{v} in the MS.

f. 27ᵛ col. 2 I *pray* 3ow syrus boothe moore *and* las
syng þese caroles *in cristemas*.

. . . . . .

[1] hic incipiunt dece*m* pre*cepta* i*n* mod*um* cantalene.

A mon 3if þu wold sauyd be
ffore sake þi syn or hit do þe

& loue þi god ou*er* al þyng
þi ne3bore as þi selfe I say
let be 3o*ur* hoþ 3o*ur* false sweryng
In clannes kepe 3o*ur* haleday
leue 3e me

þi fad*er* þi mod*er* þu worchip ay
sle no mo*n* ffore wordle þyng
Bacbyte noman ny3t ne day
ffore þis is godis est & his bidyng
leue 3e me

ffalse witnes loke þu no*n* bere
Dissayte ne þeft loke þu do no*n*
lechere þu most foreswere
here beþ comawndmentis eu*er*echon
leue 3e me

þa3 þu be kyng & were þe croune
Mo*n* haue mynd of þyn endyng
þe wele of forteune wil cust þe doune
whe*n* þu art cald to þi rekenyng
leue þoue me

þu schalt acownt ful sekyrly
ffore al þe goodis þ*at* god þe send
howe þu hast gete*n* he*m* *in* wat degre
how þu hast heldyn hou þu hast spend
leue 3e me

[II] **de septem *peccat*is mortalibus**

In wele be ware ore þu be woo
þenke wens þu come wheder to goo
ffore sake þi pride & þyn enuy
þu schalt fynd hit fore þe best
Couetyse wraþ & lechory
3if þu wilt set þi soule in rest
I say þe so

Glotery slouþ al beþ acurst
þai ben þe brondis in hel brenyng
Be ware be tyme or þu be lost
þai bryng mon soule to euel endyng
I sai þe so

a3ayns pride take buxumnes
a3ayns wraþ take charite
a3ayns couetys take largenes
a3ayns enuy humelete
I sai þe so

a3ayns glotory take abstenens
a3ayns lechore take chastite
a3ayns slouþ take besenes
f. 28 col. 1 here is a gracious remede
I say þe so

ffore his loue þat 3oue dere bo3t
lerne þis lesson I 3oue pray
haue þis in mynd fore 3ete hit no3t
ffore to heuen þer is no noþer way
I say þe so

[III] **de septem op*er*a misericor*die***

Wele is him & wele schal be
þat doþ þe .vii. werkis of merce
ffede þe hungere þe þirste 3if drenke
cloþ þe nakid as y 3oue say
vesid þe pore in prisun lyyng
Bere þe ded now I þe pray
I cownsel þe

herber þe pore þat goþ be þe way
Teche þe vnwyse of þi conyng
Do þese dedis nyȝt & day
þi soule to heuen hit wil þe bryng
I cownsel þe

& euer haue pete on þe pore
& part with him þat god þe send
þu hast no noþer tresoure
aȝayns þe day of Iugement
I cownsel þe

þe pore schul be mad domus men
Vpon þe ryche at domysday
loke houe þai con onswere þen
ffore al here reuerens here ryal aray
I cownsel þe

In hongyr in þurst in myschif wellay
after here almus ay waytyng
þay wold noȝt vs vesete nyȝt ne day
þus wil þai playn ham to heuen kyng
I cownsel þe

[IV] **de quinque sensus**

Thy .v. wittis loke þat þu wel spende
& þonke þat lord þat ham þe sende

þe furst hit is þi heryng
loke þu turne away þyne ere
ffro ydil wordis vntrew talkyng
þe loue of god loke þat þu lere
lest þu be chent

þe ij hit is þi seyng
þu hast fre choys & frewil
To behold al wonder þyng
þe good to chese to leue þe ille
lest þu be chent

þe .iij. hit is þi towchyng
worche no worke vnlawfully
f.28col.2 Gouеren þi fete in þi walkyng
To ward heuen & fle foly
lest þu be chent

þe forþ hit is þi smellyng
To sauer þi sustinans sote of smelle
let resun þe rewle in þyne etyng
Be ware fore sorfet hit may þe spille
lest þu be chent

þe .v. hit is þi tung tastyng
þi mete þi drynke holsum & clene
3if hit be luste to þi lykyng
þen mesuere hit is a mary mene

[v] **de septem dona sp*iritus* sa*ncti***

God haþ 3euen of my3tis most
þe .vij. 3iftis of þe hole gost

Mynd resun vertu & grace
humelete chast & charete
þese .vij. 3iftis god 3euen has
be þe vertu of þe hole gost to mon onle
Ellis were we lost

Mynd make a mon him selue to know
& resun him reulis in his workis alle
& vertu makis his goodnes y know
& grace is grownde of hem alle
Ellis were we lost

humelete pride he doþ downe falle
chast kepis þe clene in þi leuyng
þen charete is chef of hem alle
Mon soule to blis he doþe hem breng
Ellis were we lost

haue fayþe hope & charete
þese be þe grownd of þi beleue
Ellis sauyd þu my3t not be
þus poule in his pistil he doþ preue
Ellis were we lost

þi fayþe is þi beleue of hole cherche
Onle in hope god haþe hordent þe
Good werkis þat þu schuld werche
& be rewardid in heuen on hye
hellis were we lost

*þe*n charete chef callid is he
he cownselis vche mo*n* *þa*t is leuyng
To do as þu woldist me did be þe
& kepe godis est & his bidyng
Ellis were we lost

[VI]

In die natalis d*omi*ni

Wwelcu*m* 3ole i*n* glad aray
In worchip of þe holeday

f. 28^{v} col. 1 welcu*m* be þu heue*n* kyng
welcu*m* bore i*n* hon mornyng
welcu*m* to þe now wil we syng
welcu*m* 3ole for eue*r* & ay

welcu*m* be þu mare myld
welcu*m* be þu & þi child
welcu*m* fro þe fynd þu vs schilde
welcu*m* 3ole fore eue*r* & ay

welcu*m* be 3e steue*n* & ione
welcu*m* childe*r*n eue*r*echone
wellcu*m* thomas marte*r* alle on
welcu*m* 3ole for eue*r* & ay

welcu*m* be þu good new 3ere
welcu*m* þe .xii. days efere
welcu*m* be 3e alle *þa*t bene here
welcu*m* 3ole for eue*r* & ay

welcu*m* be 3e lord & lady
welcu*m* be 3e al þis cu*m*pane
ffore 3olis loue now makis mere
welcu*m* 3ole fore eue*r* & ay

[VII]

In die sa*ncti* stephani

In reue*r*ens of oure lord i*n* heue*n*
worchip þis marte*r* swete se*n*t steue*n*

Saynt steue*n* þe first martere
he ched his blod i*n* herþ here
ffore þe loue of his lord so dere
he sofird payn & passion

he was stonyd *with* stons ful cruelle
& sofird *his* payn ful pasiently
lord of myn enmes þu haue m*erc*e
þ*at* wot not what þai done

he be held i*n* to houe*n* on he
& se ih*es*u stonde i*n* h*is* maieste
& sayd my soule lord take to þe
& fore3if myn enmys eu*er*echon

þ*en* whe*n* þ*at* word he had sayd
God þ*er*of was wel apayd
his hede mekele to slep he layd
his sowle was takyn to heue*n* anon

Swete saynt steue*n* fore vs þu pr*ay*
To þ*at* lord þ*at* best may
whan *our* soule schal wynd away
he grawnt*us* al remyssion

[VIII] In die sa*ncti* lohan*n*is apo*pst*ole & ewa*n*geliste

I pr*ay* 3oue brod*er* eu*er*echon
worchip þis postil swete saynt ion

Synt Ion is cr*is*tis derlyng dere
he lenyd on h*is* brest at h*is* sopere
& þ*er* he mad hym wond*er*ful chere
To fore h*is* postilis eu*er*echon

Saynt ion he said my dere derlyng
Take my mod*er* i*n* to þi kepyng
heo is my ioy my hert swetyng
loke þu leue not here anon

f. 28^{v} col. 2 Ion I pr*ay* þe make here good chere
w*ith* al þi hert & þi powere
loke 3e to p*ar*t not i*n* fere
In wat cu*n*tre þ*at* eu*er* 3e goon

I comawnd 3oue my postilis alle
whe*n* my mod*er* doþ on 3oue calle
anon on kynes þ*at* 3e down falle
& do here worchip þ*er* w*ith* anon

I pray 3oue al on my blessyng
kepe 3e charete fore one þyng
þenke what I said in 3our waschyng
knelyng to fore 3oue on a stone

ffare wel now I wynd 3oue fro
To ierusalem I most goo
To be betrayd of my fo
& sofir payn & passiown

A my sun my heuen kyng
Oure lady þer with felle downe sonyng
þis was a dolful departyng
þai toke here vp with gret mon

A my moder my dere derlyng
let be þi wo & þi wepyng
ffore I most do my fader bidyng
Ellis redempcion were þer non

ffare wel my fader fare wel my chylde
ffare wel moder & maid mylde
ffro þe fynd I wil þe childe
& crowne þe quene in heuen trone

Swete saynt ion to þe we pray
Be seche þat lord þat best may
when our soulis schal wynd away
he grawnt vs al remyssion

[IX] In die sanctorum Innocencium

With al þe reuer[en]s þat we may
worchip we childermasday

Crist crid in cradil moder baba
þe childer of iral cridyn wa wa
ffore here merþ hit was aga
when erod fersly cowþ hem fray

al knaue childer with .ij. 3ere
Of age in bedlem fere or nere
þai chedyn here blod with swerd & spere
alas þer was a rewful aray

an hunderd & fourte þousand þer were
crist ham cristynd al in fere
In eorblod & were martere
al clene virgyns hit is no nay

þe crisum childer to crist con cry
we beþ slayne fore gret enuy
lord venge our blod fore þi mercy
& take our soulis to þe we pray

An heuenle voys answerd aȝayn
Abyde awyle & sofer ȝour payn
hent þe nowmbir be eslayn
Of ȝour breder as I ȝou say

f. 29 col. 1 ffore ȝe han sofird marterdom
for cristis sake al & sum
he wil ȝoue crowne in his kyngdam
& folou þe lomb in ioy for ay

[x] de sancto Thome archiepiscopo cantuarienci

I pra ȝou sers al in fere
worchip seynt thomas þe hole marter

ffor on a tewsday thomas was borne
& on a tuysday he was prest schorne
& on a tuysday his lyue was lorne
& sofyrd martyrdam with myld chere

ffore hole cherche ryȝt al hit was
Ellis we had þen songyn alas
& þe child þat vnborne was
Schul haue boȝt his lyue ful dere

þer prestis were þral he mad hem fre
þat no clerke hongid schuld be
Bot eretyk or fore traytre
ȝif one soche case fel þer were

þe[n] no child criston schuld be
Ne clerke take ordere in no degre
[N]e mayde mared in no cuntre
With out trebeut in þe kyng dangere

þus hole cherche he mad fre
ffore fyfte poyntis he dyed truly
In heue*n* worchipt mot he be
& fade*r* & mode*r* hi*m* gete & bere

[XI] In die circu[m]cicionis do*mi*ni

What tyþyngis bryngst vs messangere
Of cr*i*stis borþ þis new eris day

A babe is borne of hye natewre
A pr*y*nce of pese þ*a*t eue*r* schal be
Off heue*n* & erþe he haþ þe cewre
his lordchip is ete*r*nete
Seche wonde*r* tyþyngis ȝe may here
what tyþyngis bryngis þe messangere
þ*a*t god & mo*n* is hon in fere
ho*ur* syn had mad bot fyndis pr*a*y

A semle selcouþ h*i*t is to se
þe burd þ*a*t had þis berne i borne
þis child co*n*seyuyd i*n* he degre
& maydyn is as was be forne
Seche wonde*r* tydyngus ȝe mow here
þ*a*t maydon & modur ys won y[n] fere
and lady ys of hye a ray

f. 29 col. 2 A wonde*r* þyng is now be fall
þ*a*t lord þ*a*t mad boþ se & su*n*
heue*n* & erþ & angelis al
In mon kynde ys now be cu*m*me
What tydy*n*gus bry*n*gi[s] vt supra
A faunt þ*a*t is bot of on ȝere
eue*r* as ben & schal be ay
What tyþyngis bryngis þu vt supr*a*

þise louele lade co*n* grete here chylde
hayle su*n* haile brode*r* haile fade*r* dere
haile doȝte*r* haile suste*r* haile mode*r* myld
þis haylsing was on coynt manere
Seche wo[n]de*r* tyþyngis vt supr*a*
þis gretyng was of so[c]he chere
þ*a*t mans pyne h*i*t turnyd to play

þat lord þat alþyng mad of noȝt
is mon be cum fore mons loue
ffore with his blood he schul be boȝt
ffro bale to blys þat is aboue
Seche wonder tyþyngis vt supra
þat lord vs grawnt now our prayoure
To twel in heuen þat we may
Seche wonder tyþyngis vt supra

[XII] de rege nostro henrico sexto

Aperles pryns to þe we pray
Saue our kyng boþ nyȝt & day

ffore he is ful ȝong tender of age
Semele to se o bold corage
louele & lofte of his lenage
Boþ perles prince & kyng veray

his gracious gransers & his grawndame
his fader & moderis of kyngis þay came
was neuer a worþear prynce of name
So exelent in al our day

his fader fore loue of mayd kateryn
In fraunce he wroȝt turment & tene
his loue hee sayd hit schuld not ben
& send him ballis him with to play

þen was he wyse in wars with alle
& taȝt franchemen to plai at þe balle
with tenes hold he ferd ham halle
To castelles & setis þi floyn away

To harflete a sege he layd anon
& cast a bal vn to þe towne
þe frenchemen swere be se & sun
hit was þe fynd þat mad þat fray

Anon þai toke ham to cownsele
Oure gracious kyng þai wold asayle
At agyncowrt at þat patayle
þe floure of frawnce he fel þat day

f. 29v col. 1 þe kyng of frawns þen was agast
Mesagers to him send in hast
ffore wele he west hit was bot wast
hem to witstond in hone way

& prayd hym to sese of his outrage
& take kateryn to mareage
Al frawnce to him schuld do homage
& croune him kyng afftyr his day

Of frawnce he mad him anon regent
& wedid kateren in his present
In to Englond anon he went
& cround our quene in ryal aray

Of quen kateryn our kyng was borne
To saue our ry3t þat was fore lorne
Oure faders in frawns had won befor[n]e
þai han hit hold mone a day

þus was his fader a conqueroure
& wan his moder with gret onoure
Now may þe kyng bere þe floure
Of kyngis & kyngdams in vche cuntre

On him schal fal þe prophece
þat haþ ben sayd of kyng herre
þe hole cros wyn or he dye
þat crist habud on goodfryday

Al wo & werres he schal acese
& set alle al reams in rest & pese
& turne to cristyndam al heþynes
Now grawnt him hit so be may

Pray we þat lord is lord of alle
To saue our kyng his reme ryal
& let neuer myschip vppon him falle
Ne false traytoure him to betray

I pray 3oue seris of 3our gentre
Syng þis carol reuerently
ffore hit is mad of kyng herre
Gret ned fore him we han to pray

ȝif he fare wele wele schul we be
Or ellis we may be ful sore
ffore hi*m* schal wepe mone an e
þus pr*o*phecis þe blynd awdlay

(*To be concluded*)

NOTES

f. 27ᵛ. I pr*a*y ȝow syrus] This couplet is rubricated, and written in the top margin of the second column. The first line of the column, here marked with dots, consists of the last line of a collect carried over from the first column.

[i] 1. The opening couplet of each carol is given in the MS. as part of the first stanza.
þu] This word is written throughout with superscript 'u' and ought perhaps to be expanded as 'þou.'

[ii] 26. no] inserted superscript.

[iii] 14. & p*a*rt w*i*th him] the MS. is rubbed and the reading uncertain here. For 'w*i*th' the MS. regularly has 'w' with 't' superscript. Perhaps 'w*i*t,' cp. xii, 30.
15. Before 'tresoure' a word has apparently been deleted in the MS.
18. dom*us* men] i.e. doom's-men, judges.

[iv] 20. þyne etyng] the last letter of 'þyne' is inserted superscript.
26. MS. 'amary,' perhaps for 'a mery.' The refrain is omitted in the MS.

[vi] Previously printed by W. Sandys, *Christmastide*, p. 218. Another version, from MS. Sloane 2593, was printed by Ritson in 1790, etc., and by T. Wright. See *Early English Lyrics*, CXXIV.

[vii] 22. *us*] written in a superscript contraction; in the last line of the next poem it is written out fully.

[viii] 17. kynes] i.e. knees.
37. childe] i.e. shield.
42. grawnt vs] see note on last poem, l. 22.

[ix] 1. reue*r*[en]s] written reue*rs*.
13. eorblod] so written quite clearly in one word: perhaps read 'heor blod,' i.e. their blood.
21. hent] i.e. until.
23. This line is written also at the foot of f. 28 as a catch-line.

[x] 15–17. The first word in each line should perhaps be 'Ne'; but the initial in ll. 15 and 17 is clearly a 'thorn.' In l. 17 we should certainly read 'Ne.'

[xi] Another version in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. O. 3. 58, is printed therefrom by Fuller Maitland, *English Carols of the Fifteenth Century*, 1891.
8, 22, 25, 35. The arrangement of the refrain is not clear in Audelay's version. A suggestion for its reconstruction is made in our introductory remarks, but in the Trinity text, which is subjoined for comparison, the burden is only repeated once for each stanza.

Qwat tydyngis bryngyst thou massager;
Of cristys berthe this ȝolys day.

A babe is born of hey nature.
the prince of pees that euere xal be:
Of heuene & erthe he hath þe cure.
his lordschepe is eternyte.
Swich wunder tydyngis ȝe may here.
That man is mad now goddis pere.
qwom synne had mad but feyndys pray.

A wundyr thing is now befalle.
that kyng that formyd sterre & sunne
heuene & erthe & aungelys alle.
now in mankend is newe begunne.
Swich wunder tydyngis ȝe may here.
a faunt is now of o ȝere.
that hath ben euere & xal ben ay.

That semlyest selkouth to se.
this berde that hath this babe I born
and lord conceyuyd of hey degre
a maydyn is as was beforn.
Swich wunder tydyngis ȝe may here.
That maydyn & moder is on in fere.
& sche a lady of greth aray.

That louelyest gan grete here child.
heyl sone heyl brother heyl fader dere
heyl dowter he seyth heyl suster heyl moder myld
this heylyng was on qweynt manere.
Swich wunder tydyngis ȝe may here.
That heylyng was of so good chere.
that manys peyne is turnyd to play.

9. hon] i.e. one.
22. Inserted (wrongly) in the margin.

[xii] Printed by Halliwell in his introduction, Percy Society, vol. xiv, 1844.
9. worþear] the 'a' is superscript.
41. MS. 'before.'
50. habud] probably for 'abod,' i.e. endured.
53. heþynes] Halliwell wrongly gives 'hevinesse.'
65. an e] MS. 'ane,' i.e. an eye.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

John Donne, Diplomatist and Soldier.

I have taken the following entries, which throw light upon an obscure period in the life of John Donne, from the accounts of Sir John Stanhope, Treasurer of the Chamber, for the year 1597–8 (*Pipe Office Declared Accounts*, Roll 543, mm. 26–27^{v}).

'To John Donne vpon a warr^{t} signed by m^{r} Secretarie dated at whitehall iiij^{to} die februar^{y} 1597 for bringing l'res for her ma^{t}^{e} seruice from the Towne of S^{t} Vallory in Pickerdie sent by S^{r} Henrye Poore knight one of her ma^{t}^{e} colonell^{e} for the forces of those p^{tes} iiij^{li}.'

'To John Donne vpon the counsells warr^{t} dated at whitehall xix^{mo} die februar^{y} 1597 for bringing l'res to her ma^{tie} from the Governo^{r} of Depe and for bringing from thence to the courte two prisoners Spainardes sent by the saide Governo^{r} viij^{li}.'

The issue of the second warrant is recorded in the Privy Council register (Dasent, *Acts of the Privy Council*, xxviii, 321):

'To John Donne vpon a warr^{t} signed by m^{r} Secretarie dated at Angiers xix^{mo} martij 1597 for carrieing l'res for her ma^{t}^{e} speciall seruice to the saide m^{r} Secretarie her ma^{t}^{e} Ambassado^{r} there xx^{li}.'

'To Capten John Donne vpon a warr^{t} signed by m^{r} Secretarie dated xxv^{to} maii 1598 being sent with l'res for her ma^{t}^{e} speciall seruice from the citie of Nantes in Brittaine to the courte at Grenwich xij^{li}.'

All the entries belong, of course, to the year 1598 of the modern reckoning. The troops in Picardy were the residue of those which had been sent during 1596 and 1597 to assist Henry IV against the Spanish. Some of these had been withdrawn when Henry, after recovering Amiens on 24 September 1597, entered into negotiations for peace with Spain. But others, under Sir Henry Poore, second in command of the expedition, were left at St Valery, waiting for transport. At the end of November it was decided to send them to Waterford, as a Spanish descent in Ireland was anticipated. But it was found that the transports could not get to St Valery, and on 25 January 1598, the Privy Council sent Poore orders to march

to Dieppe. Meanwhile 'Mr Secretarie,' Sir Robert Cecil, had started on an embassy to France in the hope of preventing the proposed peace. He left Dover on 17 January, and found Henry at Angiers on 17 March. At about this date, letters from England, probably those carried by John Donne, were received (*Sydney Papers*, ii, 96). On 28 March Cecil followed Henry to Nantes, and remained here until he started for England on 15 April. A despatch sent by him on 5 April, of which Donne was presumably the bearer, is printed in T. Birch, *An Historical View of the Relations between England, France, and Brussels* (1749), 141.

There is no reason to suppose that any other John Donne than the poet is referred to in these entries. It becomes clear that he must have been directly employed by Cecil, in the minor diplomatic capacity of a Queen's messenger, for a few months after his return from the Island Voyage on 27 November 1597, and before his entry into the service of Sir Thomas Egerton. The description of him as 'Captain' John Donne in the last entry suggests that he may for a short time have had charge of a company under Sir Henry Poore, but of this I have no direct evidence.

E. K. Chambers.

Gerrard's Cross.

Giles Fletcher and 'The Faerie Queene.'

Giles Fletcher is usually described as the link between Spenser and Milton, but up to the present, while the parallels between *Christs Victorie and Triumph* and Milton's work, especially in the *Nativity Ode* and *Paradise Regained*, have been carefully indicated, the study of Giles Fletcher's relations with Spenser has not proceeded very far. It is of course clearly recognised on all hands that the two Fletchers belong to the Spenserian school, but no one appears to have seen that Giles, at any rate, was not merely a close imitator but a direct plagiarist of his master.

I cannot profess to have carried out any close comparison between the *Faerie Queene* and *Christs Victorie and Triumph*; but a few very striking parallels, noticed in a somewhat cursory reading of the latter poem, may be interesting to students of Jacobean verse, if indeed they have not already observed them for themselves. It is not perhaps strange that they nearly all occur in the second book, *Christs Victorie on Earth*, since the theme of that book is Temptation, a subject with

which Spenser is largely occupied in the first two books of the *Faerie Queene.*

(*a*) The first parallel is between Spenser's Archimago (*Faerie Queene,* I, i, 29, 30) and Fletcher's Satan (*Christs Victorie,* II, 15—19). Both are 'aged syres' and hermits. Both appear praying and telling their beads. Both 'lout low' when they meet their intended victim. A comparison of the two passages can leave no doubt upon the reader's mind that Fletcher was here copying his predecessor.

(*b*) More remarkable still is the identity (for it is nothing less) of Fletcher's 'Balefull Bowre' (II, 23—29) with Spenser's 'Cave of Despair' (I, ix, 33—37).

The first stanza of Fletcher's description at once suggests its source:

> Ere long they came neere to a balefull bowre,
> Much like the mouth of that infernall cave,
> That gaping stood all Commers to devoure,
> Darke, dolefull, dreary, like a greedy grave,
> That still for carrion carkasses doth crave.

The whole passage in Fletcher is a mere paraphrase of Spenser, except where it is a verbatim copy.

(*c*) Passing over Fletcher's figure of Presumption, who is obviously own sister to Lucifera, we come to his garden of Panglorie (II, 39—62), which is again merely a revised edition of the Bower of Bliss (*Faerie Queene,* II, xii, 42—87). The picture of the fountain (II, 46—49), though not identical with Spenser's exquisite creation, is but an inferior article from the same workshop. Finally, Spenser's wonderful stanza which follows hard upon the description of the fountain (*Faerie Queene,* II, xii, 71), seems to have run in Fletcher's mind, as it has run in the mind of countless readers since his day. Thus does he attempt to reproduce it in the final stanza of this second part.

> The birds sweet notes, to sonnet out their joyes,
> Attemper'd to the layes Angelicall,
> And to the birds, the winds attune their noyse,
> And to the winds, the waters hoarcely call,
> And Echo back againe revoyced all,
> That the whole valley rung with victorie.
> But now our Lord to rest doth homewards flie:
> See how the Night comes stealing from the mountains high.

The poet's poet has had many disciples, but surely none so devoted as Giles Fletcher.

JOHN DOVER WILSON.

LONDON.

John Lyly's relations by Marriage.

The name of Lyly's wife is not the least interesting of the many discoveries which Professor Feuillerat has made in his recently published monograph on the euphuist. Beatrice Browne was, as he points out, closely connected on her mother's side with the Rokebys and the Danbys, two important Yorkshire families. What Professor Feuillerat has not seen is that her father's family was probably from Lyly's point of view far more interesting. For Richard Browne of Mexborough, Lyly's father-in-law, was, as I shall now show, nearly related by marriage to the great Lord Burghley, while he was uncle to another famous man of the age, though one who could hardly have been a *persona grata* to the author of *Pappe with an Hatchet*; I mean Robert Browne the separatist.

The family of Browne, of which Robert was so distinguished or so notorious a member, held a considerable amount of property on the borders of Lincolnshire and Rutlandshire, and had since the days of Edward III played a very prominent part in the affairs of the town of Stamford. But for our purpose we need not go further back than Christopher Browne 'of Stamford and Tolethorpe,' who died in the year 1519. Among other children this man had a son Francis and a son Edmund. The second of these married Joan Cecil, a lady from the neighbouring village of Burghley, who was aunt to Lyly's patron the great minister of Elizabeth. It was from the other son, Francis, that Robert and Beatrice Browne were descended. There is no difficulty whatever in proving this in the case of Robert. The pedigree of the Brownes of Stamford, to be found on p. 93 of Blore's *Rutlandshire*, tells us that Francis married Margaret Mathew, that by her he had two sons, Anthony and William, and that Anthony in his turn had a family of five sons: Francis, who succeeded to his Tolethorpe estate, Philip a clergyman, Robert, Thomas, and John Browne of Bourne Park, alderman of Stamford 1607–8. Robert the third son is the famous Nonconformist. But when we turn and ask ourselves how Beatrice and her father Richard Browne of Mexborough in Yorkshire were related to Francis Browne of Stamford and his descendants our task is not so easy. Blore gives us no help whatever. The proof of the relationship rests upon a document printed, unfortunately only in part, among the *Pièces Justificatives* at the end of Prof. Feuillerat's book. This relates to the will of Richard Browne and frequently refers to a John Browne, whom it describes as Richard's 'nephewe.' If we can

identify this John Browne with any one in Blore's pedigree, it will be possible to see what the relationship between Lyly's father-in-law and the Brownes of Stamford actually was. The only John Browne whose age and standing at all fit the circumstances of the case is the fifth son of Anthony and younger brother of Robert, already referred to. But this man is described by Blore as 'of Bourne Park in the county of Lincoln,' while the John Browne of Prof. Feuillerat's document is 'of Burye in the county of Lincoln.' I have examined the original document and the word is clearly and unmistakeably 'Burye.' And yet, though there are several Burys in England, there is none, as far as I know, in the county of Lincoln. The lawyer's clerk or whoever it may have been that wrote the document has evidently made a mistake and has transcribed the word 'Burne' as 'Burye.' He had only to lengthen the second stroke of the 'n' to do so.

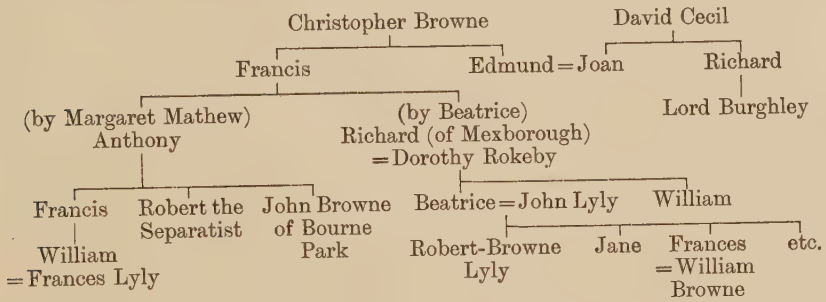
If then, as I believe, Richard Browne of Mexborough was uncle to John Browne of Bourne or Burne, a village quite close to Stamford, his daughter Beatrice was the first cousin of John Browne and consequently also of Robert the separatist. Furthermore, Richard Browne must have been the son of Francis, who married Margaret Mathew. Fortunately we possess a copy of the said Francis's will, printed by Mr Justin Simpson in some notes upon Blore's pedigree, which he published in *Notes and Queries* (Ser. 7, Vol. IV, p. 464). From this will it is clear that Francis married three times. His third wife, whom he left a widow, and against whom he seems to have harboured a grudge, seeing that he expressly excludes her from inheriting his estates, is described as 'Beatrys.' Moreover the will mentions that she had two sons. Those who have followed the argument up to this point will, I believe, have no hesitation in assuming that one of these two boys was Richard Browne, who later gave the name of Beatrice to his own daughter. Disinherited by his father's will he would naturally drift away from the ancestral home at Stamford, and it is probable that his possessions at Mexborough came to him through his wife Dorothy, granddaughter of Sir James Danby of Thorpe and widow of Ralph Rokeby of Skiers.

The significance of all this for the biographer of John Lyly is that the euphuist, when he married Beatrice Browne at St Clement Danes, London, on November 22, 1583, made a much better match than even Prof. Feuillerat has claimed. Possibly the alliance, as was not infrequently the case in those days, had been arranged by the respective families while the partners were still children. And such an arrange-

ment is rendered the more probable by the fact that Lyly's mother was Jane Burgh of Burgh Hall, Yorkshire, whose family had intermarried with the Rokebys[1]. If this was the case, the friendly interest that Lord Burghley took in the young Lyly's career is at once explained.

It remains to add that Lyly's own children seem to have settled down at Mexborough in Yorkshire. Prof. Feuillerat declares that Richard Browne disinherited the Lylys before he died. A son was certainly born to him in his old age and was christened at Mexborough in 1601, but the actual disinheriting of his daughter Beatrice does not seem to have taken place until after Lyly's death, when she appears to have brought discredit upon the family name by marrying a citizen of London. In any case, her children by John Lyly were amply provided for. Robert-Browne Lyly, the eldest, settled at Mexborough and married into a good family, Frances married a Browne of Tolethorpe, and the present incumbent of Mexborough, Mr W. H. F. Bateman, to whom I owe several interesting entries from the Mexborough Registers, which lack of space forbids me to deal with here, informs me that there is still standing a house in the district known as Lilly Hall.

I may be permitted in conclusion to subjoin a brief genealogical table of the Browns by way of summing up the argument.



JOHN DOVER WILSON.

LONDON.

SUCKLING AND DESPORTES.

In the review of Mr Tilley's *From Montaigne to Molière* (*Mod. Lang. Review*, April 1910, p. 251) it is said that Suckling 'a imité et même fréquemment traduit Desportes.' I am afraid the reviewer is mistaken, though of course I am open to correction. As far as I know, Suckling has not imitated or translated any of Desportes' verse.

[1] Feuillerat, *John Lyly*, pp. 15, 16.

This is what one would expect; all Ronsard's followers, without exception, including those of the 'seconde volée' (save perhaps Bertaut, for whom Malherbe had some regard), were forgotten when the Cavalier poet began to write. Even Desportes, who as the most fashionable and not the least gifted had the best chance of surviving, had been too severely damaged by Malherbe to be able to hold his ground for any length of time. The last edition of his works bears the date 1611, and only a few stray poems of his appear in the 'recueils collectifs' published from 1636 to 1661.

One piece in Suckling's poems, entitled 'Proffered Love Rejected' (ed. W. Carew Hazlitt, I, 59—60), consisting of five stanzas, each of four short lines, in all probability accounts for the mistake. This same piece, in a somewhat different form, figures among the poems of Charles Cotton, the translator of Montaigne (Chalmers, *English Poets*, VI, 722), under the rubric: 'Epigramme de Monsieur Desportes.' There is ground apparently for the belief that the poem in question does not belong to Suckling, but that it was included among his works at a later date because its subject and substance are in keeping with much of his erotic verse. In any case, even if it be assumed that Cotton followed Suckling, or that they both worked independently on the same pattern, that pattern was not Desportes. I have searched Desportes, both in Michiels' edition and in the collections of miscellaneous pieces published throughout the seventeenth century, but can find no lines of Desportes which could have served as a model for Suckling's or for Cotton's composition.

L. E. Kastner.

Manchester.

English 'ca(u)lk,' French 'calfater.'

Almost every European language, except English, has adopted some form of the verb represented by French *calfater* (see Jal). We find *calfret* in English (see *N.E.D.*), but only as a loan-word in restricted use. Hence it seems likely that *caulk* represents the original sense of *calfater* very closely. On the origin of the latter word much has been written (see Körting, 7594), but no theory seems to meet with general acceptance. The accepted derivation for *caulk* is M.E. '*cauken*, to tread, copulate as a cock' (*Piers Plowman*), Picard '*cauquer, cauquier*, to treade a hen, as a cock doth; also, to tent a wound' (Cotgrave), L. '*calcare*, to tread, trample'; with which cf. also Rouchi '*cauquer, coquer*, action du coq sur la poule' (Hécart), Mod.F. '*côcher, cocher*, en

parlant des oiseaux, couvrir (la femelle)' (*Dict. Gén.*). We find also M.L. *calcare, calchare* in the sense of 'caulk,' and etymologists refer all the words ultimately to L. '*calx*, heel.' There are three objections to this origin for *caulk*. The change of meaning of the M.E. *cauken* seems most unnatural. *Caulkers* can never have 'trodden in' the oakum. These two objections may be unimportant, but the third appears to me more serious, viz. the object of *caulk* (and of *calfater*, etc.) is always the ship, never the oakum. The earliest example in Jal for M.L. *calcare* is 'Statuimus quod patroni navium debeant dare naves suas bene corzatas et *calcatas* de fori et paredas' (1255). For another example see Du Cange (*calchare*). The oldest example for *caulk* in the *N.E.D.* is 'The shippe for to *caulke* and pitche' (c. 1500). Now the words for all outward applications to ships are taken from the matter applied. In E. we have to *bray* (Hakluyt), *pitch, tar, grave* (i.e. grease), *pay*, etc., in F. '*braier, brayer*, to grave, picke, or pitche, a ship' (Cotgrave) and F. '*brai*, pitch,' '*suiver, suiffer*, to grave or pay' (Boyer) and F. '*suif*, tallow,' A.F. '*peier*, O.F. *poier* (*picare*), to pay, pitch,' O.Du. *braauwen*, now *breeuwen*, from F. *braier* (Franck), explained by Kilian as '*kallefaten, kalfateren*, commissuras navium ferruminare musci coma interjecta' (Pliny). Cf. also G. *teeren, pichen*, etc. 'Caulking' consists in driving oakum, etc. into the seams of ships and then pouring on hot pitch, but it seems possible that the word may have been applied earlier to more rudimentary methods of making the vessel watertight and that the word goes back to '*calx*, lime' and not '*calx*, heel.' I imagine that primitive man stopped the interstices in his canoe with clay. Falconer (*Marine Dict.*, 1772) s.v. *calk* says, 'The Poles at this time use a sort of unctuous clay for the same purpose on their navigable rivers.' 'To *lute*' is thus used in E. (*N.E.D.*). Jal, s.v. *espalmer*, denies Furetière's statement that bitumen from the Dead Sea was used by the ancients for 'caulking.' I think he is probably wrong. The earliest 'caulker' in history was Noah who 'pitched' his ark. The Vulgate has *bitumine*. The mother of Moses daubed the ark of bulrushes 'with slime and with pitch,' '*bitumine* et pice' in the Vulgate. This 'slime,' also mentioned twice in Genesis, is described by Biblical commentators as 'mineral pitch.' Cf. G. '*Juden-leim*, bitumen; a sort of slime naturally clammy like pitch' (Ludwig, 1711). See also Kilian, *Joden-lijm*. I am rather vague as to the nature of bitumen, but I find that the term is used very loosely by early chemists. Kilian (1620) renders it by *kalck-lijm* and has also '*lijm*, viscus, viscum, gluten, glutinum, colla; *ger. leym, ang.*

autem lyme, viscus, calx, bitumen dicitur.' '*Lime*, calx,' and '*lime*, viscus' are the same word (see *N.E.D.* and cf. G. '*Leim*, glue,' L. '*limus*, slime,' see also Kluge, *Lehm*) and in M.E. 'to *lime*' is used for 'to *caulk*,' e.g. 'ðat arche was a feteles good, set and *limed* agen ðe flood' (c. 1250, *N.E.D.*) and '*lyme* it with cleye and pitche within and without' (1483, Caxton). L. *calx* penetrated into the Germanic languages at a very early period (see Kluge, *Kalk*, and cf. O.E. *cealc*) with other builders' terms. In E. it has taken the special meaning 'chalk' and it is doubtful how far M.E. *calke, cauk* is applied to 'lime'; in the Prompt. Parv. it is glossed both *calx* and *creta*. If E. *caulk* is derived from it, it may be a nautical use of an unrecorded builders' term, or it may have come through O.F. or Du. Sewel (1727) has '*kalken*, to daub with lime, to plaister' and M.H.G. '*kelken, kelchen*, cementare' is recorded by Grimm. The L. word most nearly corresponding to *caulk* appears to be *ferruminare*, glossed *calk* in Gouldman (1669), and Adrianus Junius (1611) has '*calx*, ferrumen cementorum,' from Pliny. The M.L. *calcare* is, I suggest, for *calicare*, recorded in the sense of 'to plaister with lime' (see the German Thesaurus), of which Cooper (1573) gives the p.p. as *calcatus*. O.F. '*cauchier*, réparer' (Godefroy) may be this word, as the sense 'repair' would easily grow out of the original meaning.

The territorial exclusiveness of *caulk* and *calfater* points to very close identity of meaning. Even in the non-nautical sense Ben Jonson has 'the windores close shut and *calk'd*,' with which cf. F. '*calfeutrer*, une fenêtre, une porte, etc., garnir de bourrelets, de lisières, pour empêcher le froid d'entrer' (*Dict. Gén.*). If the derivation I propose for *caulk* is right, it suggests one more possible conjecture for *calfater*, viz. Sp. or Port. '*cal*, lime' and '*afeitar*, to adorn, accoutre.' I do not know whether the Sp. (or Port.) word has the earlier sense of 'prepare,' 'repair,' but O.F. *afaitier* occurs commonly with this meaning. For the formation cf. F. *maintenir, saupoudrer*, etc., Sp. *mantener*, Port. *manter*, Sp. and Port. *salpimentar*, etc.

Ernest Weekley.

Nottingham.

'Bozzimacu,' 'Esbat.'

'Bozzimacu' is a local word which I do not find recorded in any dialect word-list or dictionary. Pronounced with the main stress on the last syllable and the secondary on the first, it represents the French *Baisez mon cul*. It is, or at least was until recently, commonly flung as a term

of abuse at Italian organ-grinders by gamins in the streets of Birmingham, and possibly—but I have no evidence—in other parts of Warwickshire or of the midlands. It may well be the direct descendant of the 'Basimecu' which Shakespeare (2nd Part of *Henry VI*, IV, vii, 31) puts into the mouth of Jack Cade:—'What canst thou answer to my majesty for giving up Normandy unto Monsieur Basimecu, the Dauphin of France?' In spite of the fragmentary nature of the evidence, there is every probability that it has been for centuries an abusive epithet for foreigners of Latin race.

'Esbat' is another provincialism, which I believe I am putting on record for the first time. It is known to me only as jocularly used by my father, a Warwickshire man born and bred. I recollect it being applied to the carrying on of idle conversation, for instance at the end of a meal, when people should be about their business again; 'sit esbatting' was a frequent phrase. The word bears the stress on the first syllable, with *s* unvoiced. Its origin must be the Old French *esbatre* (now *ébattre*); Cotgrave's synonyms for *s'Esbatre* are to the point:—'To sport, play, dally, jeast, pass away the time in mirth, and recreation.' The fact that the introduction of the verb into English can hardly be of later date than the fifteenth century makes it the more remarkable that it has remained hitherto unrecorded. The derivative *esbatement* (modern French *ébattement*), 'amusement, diversion,' is given in the Oxford Dictionary from Caxton (two instances) and Sir Thomas Elyot's *Governour*.

C. Talbut Onions.

Oxford.

'Speak within door,' *Othello*, IV, ii, 144.

The right explanation of this phrase is given by Johnson: 'Do not clamour so as to be heard beyond the house,' i.e., Lower your tone, Don't speak so loud; and the interpretation receives striking corroboration from the use in my own family of a similar synonymous phrase, 'Speak within the house.' Another idiom, like 'bozzimacu' (see above), traceable—at present—only in Shakespeare and modern Warwickshire usage. It is possible, of course, that Johnson, being a midlander, knew the expression in current use.

C. Talbut Onions.

Oxford.

DISCUSSIONS.

Italian Courtesy Books.

In an article entitled 'Italian Courtesy-Books of the Sixteenth Century,' in the April number of this *Review*, Mr James W. Holme, in estimating the literary value of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, lays emphasis on the absence of native forerunners in this branch of didactic literature. He says, for example: 'The supremacy of the *Cortegiano* is more striking when we realise the dearth of native models and the crude nature of those existing'; and again: 'The native forerunners of the sixteenth century Italian courtesy-books are few and of little mark.' By thus depreciating its antecedents, Mr Holme brings the Italian work into strong relief. But it appears to me that he has overlooked two important points: the proofs which we have of the existence at that time of poems of this nature no longer extant; and the existence of similar works in Provençal. It need hardly be added that a close intercourse existed between the Italian and Provençal authors of the Middle Ages.

The popularity of this form of didactic literature in other European countries should make us reluctant to lay much stress on the dearth of similar works in a country so closely in touch with the intellectual movements of the day as Italy was from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Similar books must have existed in Italian. We know, for instance, that Thomasin von Zirclaeria, an Italian by birth, the author of the German poem, *Der welsche Gast*, wrote a work in Italian on the same lines. He says:

> und waer sîn zît ich wold doch
> von rîtern und von vrouwen noch
> sagen wie si solden leben,
> ob si nach êren wollen streben,
> als ich hân hie vor geseit
> an mîm buoch von der hüffcheit
> daz ich[1] *welhschen* hân gemacht.
>
> (*Der welsche Gast*, ll. 1167 f.)

[1] Rückert in his edition of *Der welsche Gast* (*Bibl. der gesamt. d. Nat. Lit.*, Vol. 30, Introd.) translates *welsch* by 'nord-französisch,' but there can be no doubt that *welsch* here signifies Italian (cf. Schönbach, *loc. cit.*, p. 62).

Curiously enough, Thomasin's German poem presents many points of similarity with *Il Cortegiano*. Schönbach has pointed out (*Anfänge des deutschen Minnesanges*, Graz, 1898) that *Der welsche Gast* was not written for the 'bürger,' but is 'ein Stück adeliger Standespoesie.' He starts from the aristocratic standpoint that noble birth is necessary for moral perfection (e.g., ll. 3855, 3881, 4401 etc.). Mr Holme points out the same fact with regard to *Il Cortegiano*, and all that he says (p. 149) about the 'perfect courtier' would fit Thomasin's ideal just as well as Castiglione's. And yet in *Der welsche Gast*, Thomasin was obliged to go off on to many side-issues. Judging however, from the tenor of his words quoted above, we may fairly assume that the Italian poem (for which Schönbach suggests the possible title *Della cortesia*) was devoted more exclusively to the fashioning of his ideal than the German one. Castiglione may, or may not, have been acquainted with this Italian Courtesy Book of the thirteenth century—it is merely mentioned here as being a sample in the vulgar tongue of what, during the days of chivalry and knighthood, was a popular form of didactic literature.

Thomasin's *Hofzucht*, although written in German and for Germans, shews a decidedly greater affinity with the productions of the Provençal literature of his time than with the works of his German contemporaries. This is not surprising, as the author, being a native of northern Italy, was probably well versed in the Provençal literature.

From the latter part of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth a constant stream of Provençal poets flowed into the northern provinces of Italy. They were well received at the Italian courts and the ideals and literary forms of Provence were freely imported into Italy, where they became the fashion amongst the Italian writers. These latter not only copied the poetry of the Provençal poets, but they themselves frequently wrote in Provençal, and the consequence was that a kind of school of Provençal poetry was formed in the north of Italy (see Casini in Gröber's *Grundriss* [1901], II, 3, pp. 13 f.; also Gaspary, *Geschichte der ital. Literatur*, Vol. I, p. 51 f.).

A favourite form with the Provençal didactic poets was that of the *Ensenhamen*, i.e., a series of instructions for the behaviour of individuals in different ranks of society, but in the majority of cases destined for the youth of a noble house. They are generally (like *Il Cortegiano*) furnished with an epic introduction—some confine themselves to rules for one special occasion (e.g., table-manners), others are specially destined for ladies—others again (like that of Arnaut Guilhem de Marsan) aim at teaching a noble youth how to become a perfect courtier. And these Provençal courtesy-books were not always the work of Provençal poets, but of Italians (e.g., Sordel of Mantua), so familiar had the Italians become with the language and literature of the south of France. It was inevitable that these works in Provençal should be exploited and imitated by the later Italian poets. Francesco da Barberino, for instance (whom Mr Holme allows to have been a forerunner of Castiglione), quotes frequently from an otherwise unknown Provençal poet Raimon d'Anjou, the author of a work on similar lines.

Indeed, he cites several authors whose works are no longer extant (see A. Thomas, *Francesco da Barberino*, Livre 2, Ch. 2, 'Auteurs provençaux inconnus cités par Barberino'). Everything points to the fact that the *ensenhamen* was a common form of literature both in Southern France and Northern Italy during the Middle Ages and the period following, and that the *Cortegiano* was by no means 'almost the first of its kind,' although it may possibly have been 'the finest.'

Moreover, besides the forerunners in the vulgar tongue, there is another large class of similar poems which Mr Holme ignores when speaking of the sources of Baldassare's work. He speaks of his classic models, admits a debt to Cicero and Ovid, and, as regards the form of the poem, says 'its precedents are the dialogues of Plato, Cicero and Lucian.' But he entirely omits to mention the numerous Latin treatises dealing with the same subject in the twelfth and following centuries. From the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsus (also in dialogue form) to the *Morum puerilium* of Erasmus of Rotterdam there exists an unbroken series of similar works, including treatises bearing such well known names as John of Garlandia and Johannes Sulpitius Verulanus. The latter was himself a native of Central Italy, but his work was widely known and frequently translated—twice into French during the sixteenth century (see A. Franklin, *La civilité, l'étiquette, la mode...du* XII^{e} *au* XIX^{e} *siècle*).

Besides these there was the well-known *Facetus* which also underwent frequent translation into various languages. Its contents are thus indicated in a French translation of the fifteenth century:

> Cist ung livre moult petitet
> Le quel nous appelons *facet*[1]
> Qui parle bien de courtoisie
> De noblesse et de seignourie
> Comment on doit se maintenir
> Pour saige et courtois devenir, etc.
>
> (MS. fr. 25434 Bibl. Nat.)

In fact, instructions of the kind contained in *Il Cortegiano* might almost be said to have been 'in the air' in most European countries during the Middle Ages, and the period immediately following.

Jessie Crosland.

London.

[1] '*Fasset*, ou plus correctement *Facet*, renvoie a *facetus* qui, en bas latin, on le sait, ne signifie pas seulement "plaisant, facétiaux," mais "courtois, bien élevé"; c'est fort souvent, au moyen âge, un synonyme de *curialis* et d'*urbanus*' (cf. *Romania*, XV, *Mélanges de littérature catalane*, p. 192).

Syllables in Verse and Speech.

The contribution made to this argument by Mr Williams is full of interest, and I entirely agree with him that prosody must consent to be interpreted by phonetics, the appeal of verse being primarily to the ear. But, though 'no specialist in such matters,' I do not find that the view of syllable-structure, quoted by him from Sievers, is universally accepted; it does not, for example, commend itself to Jespersen (*Modern English Grammar*, 4. 12). Leaving phonetic scholars to fight out their own battles, I offer a few remarks on the question from the prosodist's point of view.

It is suggested that when two vowels are not 'separated by another sound of less sonority than either' they may coalesce into a diphthong. This, if true, would go but a short way to explain Milton's metre, in which words like *reason, pillar, azure, river, eaten* take the place of monosyllables, words like *manifest, capital, populous, resonant, insolence* take the place of dissyllables. A 'sound of less sonority' does, I presume, separate the vowels in these and very many similar words as ordinarily pronounced, so that the diphthongal explanation is manifestly inapplicable here.

Even when vowels are contiguous, need they form actual diphthongs? Is there no syllabic difference between rapid utterance of consecutive vowels and veritable blending—between 'rapture so oft' and 'rapture soft'? If there be a difference, why should we ignore it? To define a syllable is undoubtedly difficult, but do we lessen the difficulty by shutting our eyes to obvious distinctions? Can we call 'slayer' a monosyllable in quite the same sense as 'slay'? That either can be used in certain forms of verse certainly does not foreclose the issue.

We do, without doubt, modify the utterance of words like 'to atone,' and prosody takes note of the fact. It recognises that these words may occupy either the normal time of three syllables, as in trisyllabic metre, or the normal time of two, as often in blank verse. But it does not require us to say that in the latter case the actual sound is dissyllabic. If there be the slightest fraction of extra sound, the slightest amount of 'trisyllabic ripple,' prosody is ready to acknowledge it. This does not involve recognition of a trisyllabic *foot*, such as occurs in the former case. I am as far from supposing that Milton alters his fundamental time, as from denying that he uses contractions more freely than we do, or from imagining that we are entitled to read his verse in the light of twentieth century pronunciation. That he 'must have accepted many elisions which are foreign to modern speakers' I quite believe; I also believe that he accepted in theory many which he did not use in speech. But it is hard to believe that he, a classical scholar, could regard 'Adria' as a dissyllable; and I am still unable to conceive how the last two vowels of that word can be sounded as an actual diphthong.

When we separate sounds by an interval, they doubtless take longer to utter than when continuous. But *time* in prosody does not mean merely pace of utterance, or duration of sound. A passage of music can be taken faster or slower without altering its essential time, and there seems no reason to doubt that the same thing can happen in verse.

While, therefore, willing to accept the proposed eirenicon—even if it somewhat recalls the Rainbow landlord in *Silas Marner* with his 'you're both right and both wrong, as I allays says'—and fully persuaded that Mr Williams and I have the same facts in view, I cannot see that attaching a Pickwickian sense to 'dissyllable' helps us in analysis. Take but this one line from *Comus* (636):

> And yet more med'cinal is it than that Moly.

The contraction of 'medicinal' to *med'cinal* is a patent fact; but to call *med'cinal* a dissyllable in actual sound is surely improper.

I need not dwell on 'the idea(r) of,' or on the difference between hiatus and elision. To mere hiatus Southern English seems to have no great repugnance, since it is quite common to hear both 'the fear of' and 'the idea of' pronounced without a final *r* in either clause. The phonetician can but record this as a fact; prosodists may be allowed to lament that this and other vagaries of modern utterance deprive English verse of much intended sound-value.

T. S. Omond.

Tunbridge Wells.

REVIEWS.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Vol. III. Renascence and Reformation. Cambridge: University Press. 1909. 8vo. xii + 587 pp.

There is no need in this *Review* to explain the merits of the *Cambridge History of English Literature.* The third volume is full of instruction; if the chapters are not all of the same kind, and if the various writers have different aims and policies, that is only what might be expected from the form and matter of the book. The impartiality which was Lord Acton's ideal for the other Cambridge history—'so that no one should guess without turning to the index whether Dr Fairbairn or Father Gasquet held the pen'—that indifference is not required in a history of literature, which must, to a great extent, be a judgment of values as well as a record. In many of these chapters it is fairly easy to guess who holds the pen. At the same time, it may be said, the virtue of impartiality, of considerate and sober history, is exemplified in those parts of the book where there might possibly have been temptations to excess and extravagance and party spirit—if the writers had been other than they are. Nothing could be better or fairer than the temper of Dr Lindsay's account of Colet and More, or of Dr Foakes-Jackson on the *Ecclesiastical Polity.* Possibly Mr Wilson in his excellent description of the Marprelate controversy may seem to favour Martin too much; Martin is a little overpraised when he is made a forerunner of Swift. In this connexion we would have liked a little more than is given regarding Bacon's paper on the *Controversies of the Church of England.* In the earlier chapter, by Professor Whitney, on Reformation literature in England, there might have been mention of Tindale's opinion about images and relics. This is an historical fact of the greatest importance, that Tindale with all his reforming zeal was not utterly an iconoclast. 'And to knele before the crosse unto the word of God which the crosse preacheth is not evill. Neither to knele downe before an image in a man's meditations to call the livyng of the saint to mynde for to desire God of lyke grace to folow the example, is not evill.' I take these sentences from a copy of Daye's edition of Tyndall, Frith and Barnes, 1573 (p. 271 a) where a later and severer hand than Tindale's has tried to blot them out—another fact of some interest in the history of Christendom, and which is not without

significance for the history of literature. Dr Hume Brown's chapter on the Reformation in Scotland is admirable; the passages on Knox, on Pitscottie, on the *Complaynt of Scotland*, will prove as much to any intelligent reader. In the bibliography, two omissions may be noted; nothing is said of the mutilation of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* in the Scottish Text Society's edition—an outrage which still cries for reparation; and Mr James Melville's *Diary* is only noted in the Bannatyne Club edition, the later edition for the Wodrow Society being ignored. Popular literature (testaments, like those of Villon, riddles, jest-books, etc.) is well treated by Mr Harold V. Routh; this is just the sort of thing where a composite work like the Cambridge History has room to supplement the more purely literary histories written by single authors. The bibliography, too, is large and attractive. The *Exempla* might have received more notice, and it is not right to date their beginning from the use of apologues in the sermons of the friars, though the friars were the most liberal employers of this kind of illustration. Mr A. G. Little's edition of the Durham *Exempla* for the Society of Franciscan Studies had probably not reached Mr Routh by the time his article was printed. But Mrs Banks's *Alphabet of Tales* (E. E. T. S.) should have been mentioned. The bibliography of Riddles should include Kemble's *Solomon and Saturn*; that of *Fabliaux* ought not to have left out M. Bédier's great work on the subject.

Naturally, the history of poetry takes up a large part of the volume. Here we may regret that so few of the writers have seen as clearly as Mr Courthope in his description of Spenser, or Mr Lee on the Elizabethan Sonnet, that it is Barmecidal to talk about poetry without quoting it—except in the very few cases where every reader may be trusted to have the poem in his head. The history of literature is not like political history, where the matter is generally distant, vast, unattainable and incomprehensible, and where the historian is obliged to talk about things which no one knows at first hand. The historian of poetry is a guide to things that exist and are accessible, and for him to spend much time reporting indirectly of things that might be put before the eyes of the spectators is surely bad economy. Mr Henderson's chapter on Sir David Lyndsay, Scott, Montgomerie and other Scottish poets is the worst in this respect—23 pages, with one sole quotation of two lines—a strange abstinence, more especially where the poetical merit, as in Scott and Montgomerie, is so largely dependent upon the patterns of stanza. What does Mr Henderson mean by saying that Lyndsay's *History of Squire Meldrum* is 'modelled after the *Squire's Tale* of Chaucer'? There were other more probable things to be said about this work; the likeness to the *Squire's Tale* is not obvious, but as a romance of contemporary life *Squire Meldrum* deserves consideration; there are not many poems like it. The want of quotations is felt again in Mr Harold H. Child's account of Tusser. Mr Child knows his subject, but he has not taken the only satisfactory way of explaining it. Tusser is all by himself in the history of poetry; a thorough proser, with a skill in forms of verse such as many of his contemporary poets might

have been pleased to learn from him—a skill much wanted in those days, particularly in the trisyllabic metres which Tusser understood. All this is fairly described by Mr Child—but at what expense! How comparatively dull is '7776 rhyming *aaab* with double-rimes at *a*,' compared with the thing itself!

My tree or book thus framèd
With title already namèd
I trust goes forth unblamèd
In your good Lordship's name;
As my good Lord I take you
And never will forsake you
So now I crave to make you
Defender of the same.

It is one of the tunes of Walther von der Vogelweide, reappearing thus suddenly among the points of good husbandry. The interest of this poetical and critical business is spoilt when the interpreters spend hours explaining the realities which they keep to themselves with their 7776 and their *aaab*, instead of simply quoting.

Some further cavilling notes are added here. They will do little to impair the respect which every reader must feel for this book. On p. 171 Melin de Saint-Gelais is taken as Wyatt's original for the well-known sonnet 'Lyke unto these unmesurable mountaines'; nothing is said either here or in the bibliography of the Italian sonnet of Sannazaro, from which it is actually derived, or of the discussion about it[1]. On p. 177 one is prompted to ask whether 'poulter's measure' ought not to be prohibited, except in quotation from Gascoigne. Is it true that the verse, so-called in a joke by Gascoigne, was commonly so called? It is certainly not, as Mr Child here says it is, the 'common time' of the hymn-books.

Mr Lee writing on Sidney's sonnets ought to have noticed Sidney's alexandrine sonnets. By an oversight he has allowed the printer to make a whole prodigious line of Sidney's 'With new-born sighs and denizen'd wit'—spelling it 'denizenëd wit.' And how could Mr Lee bear to speak calmly of Sir John Davies's 'gulling sonnets' and never quote the unsurpassable and quintessential verse:

Into the middle temple of my heart!

On p. 364 'The Spanish rogue-novel was the outcome of a wide-spread beggary brought about by the growth of militarism and the decline of industry, by the increase of gypsies and the indiscriminate charity of an all-powerful church.' There is matter for thought in this historical sentence. One is asked to believe that without 'the growth of militarism' and concomitant variations there would not have been beggars enough in Spain to account for Lazarillo de Tormes. It is a question for a philosopher, as well as an historian. So also is the

[1] See Mr Tilley's *History of the French Renaissance*, p. 147, where reference is made to F. Torraca, *Gli imitatori stranieri di J. Sannazaro*, 1882, p. 31. See also *Modern Language Review*, III, p. 274.

statement on p. 485 (in the bibliography of 'Social Literature') 'Contempt for female character is primarily monastic.'

It would take a long time to make a proper estimate of all the good things in the volume. Fortunately it is not necessary in this review to try anything so impossible. The book does not need to be commended, and the readers of the *Modern Language Review* will have found out for themselves what they want in this third volume—Mr Courthope's deliberate and admiring study of Spenser, Mr Saintsbury's judgment of Elizabethan criticism, Mr Whibley's Chroniclers and Antiquaries (a delightful story), Mr Cunliffe's *Mirror for Magistrates*, with the bibliography of the same, and many more passages of sound history and criticism.

W. P. Ker.

London.

Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Edited by Albert Feuillerat. (*Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, Band xxi.) Louvain: A. Uystpruyst. 1908. 8vo. xviii + 513 pp.

It is a matter for congratulation that during the first decade of this century a number of the manuscript materials necessary for the study of Elizabethan stage-history have been made accessible to scholars in more complete and accurate form than heretofore. Mr W. W. Greg's edition of Henslowe's Diary and the related papers; Mr E. K. Chambers' *Notes of the History of the Revels Office under the Tudors* and his articles in the *Modern Language Review* on Court Performances before Queen Elizabeth and James I (Vol. II, pp. 1—13, and Vol. IV, pp. 153—166); Professor C. W. Wallace's monograph, *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, and his more recent articles in *The Times* and in *Harper's Magazine* (whatever views be taken of some of his theories); Mrs C. C. Stopes' publications embodying the results of her researches among the Records; and the selected documents printed in the Malone Society's *Collections* from the City Remembrancia and the Lansdowne MSS. have, in different ways, widened and deepened the bases upon which the historian of the Tudor drama must henceforth build.

The present volume, edited by the Professor of English Literature at Rennes, and produced in the series of *Materialien* which we owe to the public spirit of Professor Bang of Louvain, proves authoritatively that the labour of scientific investigation into the annals of the English stage is not being prosecuted in Teutonic lands alone. Monumental as the work is in itself, it is, as Professor Feuillerat tells us in his preface, only part of a great design:

'This volume is but the first of a series which will be the fulfilment of a wish I have long cherished: to bring together, as in a sort of *Corpus*, all the documents relating to the history of the English Court drama, as well such as have been already printed as those which still remain un-

published in public or private archives. A second volume relating to the Revels in the time of Edward VI and Mary, chiefly from the Loseley MSS. is ready....A third volume on the Court Festivities in Henry VIII's time is in preparation, and will be followed later on by a fourth on the Revels in the days of the Stuarts. If I succeed in bringing this ambitious undertaking to an end, I trust I shall have rendered some service to the historians of the English stage.'

In welcoming the splendid first-fruits of his labours all students will wish Professor Feuillerat as early a completion of his labours as their magnitude will allow. If it did not sound ungracious, one would be inclined to wish that he had begun at the beginning, and given us first his volumes on the periods of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary. Our documents for the earlier half of the sixteenth century are so scanty, that the additions to them which Professor Feuillerat promises will be eagerly awaited. Should they help to determine more clearly the position of Heywood or of Udall in the development of Tudor drama, they will be of inestimable service. But, as the editor explains in his Preface, he had to 'collect these later documents before the others for literary researches' of his own, and it was therefore convenient to publish them first. 'Besides, they cover the most important period in the history of the Court drama, and most of them have been published by Cunningham or used by Collier. Both of these editors are discredited, though constantly, if reluctantly, quoted for want of more reliable sources. It was most urgent, therefore, that somebody should dispel the mist of suspicion which has for long paralyzed the efforts of many scholars, when it has not led them into dangerous pitfalls.'

It is very satisfactory to find that Professor Feuillerat bears emphatic testimony to the honesty and the accuracy of Cunningham. In his *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court* (1842), so far as they bear on the reign of Elizabeth, the later investigator has 'found no forgery; on the contrary, it is but just to say that his publication is most accurate.' So convinced is Professor Feuillerat of Cunningham's good faith that, when he finds in his volume at the beginning of an account-book (*Revels No.* 3), a couple of paragraphs which no longer exist in the MS., he prints these paragraphs in his Notes, and points out that 'the book is in a very bad state, and a folio or more may very well have disappeared since the publication of Cunningham's work.' Another investigator to whom Professor Feuillerat pays a warm tribute is George Chalmers, the author of *An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers* (1797). Even J. P. Collier gets his fully deserved praise as an 'indefatigable searcher,' though in the Notes to this volume, as will be shown more fully below, some of the reckless and misleading statements in his *History of English Dramatic Poetry* (1835) are corrected.

Professor Feuillerat's work is divided into two Parts, and has in addition a chronological list of the plays and masques mentioned in the volume, together with detailed notes and indexes. The list of plays and masques, which immediately follows the Preface, is very useful. But it

is not made sufficiently clear why some of the masques named in the 'Inventory of the Stuff of the Revels taken in 1560' (described below) are included and others not. Has Professor Feuillerat only entered the names of the masques of which he is able to give the approximate date? Or has he evidence that those omitted, e.g., 'a Maske of Moores' (p. 20, l. 21) and a 'maske of Irishemen' (p. 21, l. 1) were acted in the reign of Mary and not of Elizabeth? Some explanation on this point would have been helpful. And it seems to me doubtful whether he is right in entering a 'Maske of Market Wives' as a separate show on Shrove Tuesday, $155\frac{8}{9}$. I think that the market wives may have appeared in the same masque as the 'fysshwyves' with whom they are named (p. 28, ll. 15—16, and p. 45).

Part I deals with 'The Office and Officers.' The first document, an anonymous memorandum to Burleigh in 1573, on the history of the Revels Office and on its proposed reorganisation, has been printed by Mr Chambers in his *Tudor Revels*. In his notes upon it, however, Professor Feuillerat proves from new documentary evidence that Sir Thomas Benger, who had been Master since 18 Jan. $15\frac{59}{60}$, must have died before June, 1573, probably in the latter part of 1572. As his will, though made on 25 June 1572, was not proved till 27 March 1577, it has hitherto been supposed that he lived till the latter date, and various hypotheses of a more or less unfavourable kind have been suggested to account for his supposed discontinuance of his duties during his lifetime. These are now shown to be baseless.

The second document, the 'platte' of orders to be observed for the better management of the Revels Office, from the pen of Blagrave the Clerk, has also been printed by Mr Chambers, but with the ampler space at his command Professor Feuillerat has been able to reproduce the curious columnar arrangement of the first sheet of the original document. It is not apparent why he has relegated to the appendix the short but interesting memorandum printed by Mr Chambers from Lansdowne MS. 83, f. 149, dealing *inter alia* with the ruinous state of the rooms in which garments and 'hed peces and suche lyke' were kept. Professor Feuillerat contends that the document does not 'belong to the plan of reform of 1573,' but is to be dated between 11 March and 5 August 1576. Even if his view be accepted—I do not think that the evidence (see p. 474) is quite conclusive—the memorandum is admittedly by a Yeoman of the Revels, and would fittingly have had a place after the first two documents. Another official report which Professor Feuillerat dates later than Collier and Mr Chambers, is the survey of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, which had become the seat of the Revels on or about 10 June 1560. In spite of the fact that the Lord Treasurer is styled Sir William Cecil, and not Lord Burghley, the editor's arguments for placing the Survey between April 1586 and March 1587 seem to be conclusive. In his notes on the warrants of appointment of the Revels Officers under Elizabeth—Masters, Clerk-Controllers, Clerks, and Yeomen—he adds further to our knowledge of the history of the office and clears up several doubtful points.

But the main contribution in Part I to Tudor stage annals is the remarkable inventory found by Professor Feuillerat among the Loseley archives, and now for the first time printed. It gives a survey of 'all the Stuff and Store' in the Revels Office on 26 March 1555, and of their later employment; an account of all the stuff received out of the Great Wardrobe for use in the Revels; and an inventory of the masquing garments taken in April or May 1560, shortly after Benger's appointment as Master. This document records the names and dates of performance of a number of hitherto unknown masques on the most varied themes, classical, romantic, and pastoral, and introducing very diverse national figures, Venetian senators, Turkish magistrates, Irish kerns, and 'Allmaynes,' torchbearers to 'the Rutters.' We gain from it too a novel insight into the way in which costumes were altered and used again in successive entertainments till they were past service. Thus the 'viii longe streighte gownes' worn by Venetian senators were translated into 'viii Almayne Jerkins' and again into 'vi garmentes of A womans maske,' while the sleeves and undersleeves of these gowns were 'translated into hed peces and undersleves for Turkes and ageyne from thence in to Shoes.' The document gives us a heightened sense of the variety and splendour of the 'masques and triumphs' at the Court of Elizabeth and her predecessor, and testifies to the care exercised over the details of organisation.

Part II of the volume, which is devoted to the Revels Accounts, opens with another important document from the Loseley MSS. It is the latter half of Ledger XIII in the Loseley collection, and contains a list of expenses on the Revels from 11 December 1558 to 30 September 1559. It thus for the first time gives us details about the Court performances in the year after Elizabeth's accession, for, as Professor Feuillerat points out, Lansdowne MS. 5, No. 40, which Collier quoted as bearing on the 'setting forth of the revels' in this year, has no connection with the Revels and is purely a wardrobe account. From the newly printed document we learn that there was a 'Maske shewen the morrow after the Coronacion' (16 Jan. $155\frac{8}{9}$) and another on 'the sondaye seven nighte after the Coronacion' (22 Jan. $155\frac{8}{9}$). The names unfortunately are not recorded, and the only title preserved in this document, and not mentioned in the Loseley 'Inventory of Stuff' seems to be 'A Maske of Shypmenn and maydes of the cuntrye,' performed at Horsley in August or September 1559.

For the period between this date and February $157\frac{9}{1}$, Professor Feuillerat has printed a number of short documents from the State Papers and from British Museum MSS. These are already familiar, and do not add materially to our knowledge, though the editor proves conclusively, I think, from S. P. Dom. Eliz. Vol. XLII, No. 47, and Vol. XXI, No. 23, printed on pp. 109 and 113 of his work that Collier (followed by Mr Chambers in *Tudor Revels*, p. 21) is mistaken in considering Lansdowne MSS. 5, No. 1, as a Revels Book. The large sum of £3209. 10*s.* 8*d.* there mentioned as having been spent between April and September 1561, appears to have been incurred in the Office of

the Works and not in connection with the Revels. But for positive additions to our knowledge of the Court drama during this period of nearly twelve years we must go to Mr Chambers' extracts from the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber published in this *Review* in October 1906. Professor Feuillerat often refers appreciatively to these in his notes, and it will be a reproach to English scholarship if the Declared Accounts are not printed in full at an early date, as Mr Chambers has suggested should be done.

For the period from February $157\frac{9}{1}$, till the beginning of November 1588, Professor Feuillerat reprints the eleven Revels account-books already familiar in Cunningham's publication, with the addition of a few documents, mainly Warrants for the delivery of stuff, or Declared Accounts of the Master of the Revels. Another account-book, Lansdowne MSS. 59, No. 21, covers an additional year, till 31 October 1589, and thenceforward till the end of the reign the documents are very meagre.

But though in this large section of his work Professor Feuillerat is mainly treading in Cunningham's footsteps, his services are not limited to confirming the results of his predecessor's researches. By various typographical devices he reproduces the form of the original documents with a fidelity which Cunningham did not attempt. Moreover, he includes certain detailed lists which the earlier editor omitted. Thus in the Revels Account-book from Shrove Tuesday $157\frac{9}{1}$ to Shrove Tuesday $157\frac{1}{2}$, on f. 2^{v}, there is an entry 'Alowed ffor: Taylers & Attendant*es* woorking & attending on the premisses together with the Travellers & attendant*es* that followed the *Master* of this office in the progresse on the Busynesse & affares of the same office.' Cunningham merely prints the total expenses, xxxix^{li} xix^{s}. Professor Feuillerat reproduces the full list of those employed, with the number of days and nights that they served, and their individual wages. (Cunningham, p. 2, Feuillerat, p. 130.) Other similar lists omitted by Cunningham, without any indication to that effect, are now for the first time made accessible. And apart from the fuller texts which he thus puts before us, Professor Feuillerat adds in his notes some interesting illustrative matter from various MS. sources. These notes, it should be said, have frequently a vivacity and sparkle which help to remind us that, though written in excellent English, they are from a Frenchman's hand.

With regard to the plays and other entertainments mentioned in the volume (apart, of course, from the masques now first made known from the Loseley archives) Professor Feuillerat has not found it possible to add much to the results already achieved by the industry and ingenuity of Collier, Cunningham, Fleay, Hazlitt, and others. He suggests (p. 448) that *The Paynfull Pillgrimage*, acted during the Christmas or Shrovetide festivities, $156\frac{7}{8}$, may have been *Everyman*, where this phrase is used in l. 565. The sources suggested for *The Irisshe Knyght* and *The Rape of the Second Helene* (pp. 461 and 462) are also, I believe, novel. In his notes on *Effiginia* and *Narcisses* (p. 451) Professor Feuillerat might have referred to Lady Lumley's prose translation of

Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*, and to *Narcissus*, the Twelfth-Night 'merriment' produced at St John's College, Oxford, in 1602.

One of the most valuable features of the present volume is the admirably full indexes of proper names and of subjects with which it concludes. These are all the more welcome because Cunningham merely has a list of the plays mentioned, and Mr Chambers in his *Tudor Revels* has no index at all. For the index of proper names we have to thank Mme. Feuillerat, who has been her husband's fellow-worker throughout his labours.

I have attempted in these remarks to trace the relation of Professor Feuillerat's volume to earlier works dealing with the same subject, and to indicate the directions in which he adds to our store of *pièces justificatives* for a reconstruction of Elizabethan stage-annals. To discuss the bearing of the volume upon the more general problems of the Tudor theatre and drama is outside the scope of this notice. Ample opportunity for the discussion of Professor Feuillerat's deductions upon some of these problems will be afforded by his critical study of John Lyly and his monograph, *Le Bureau des Menus-Plaisirs et la Mise en Scène à la Cour d'Elizabeth*, which have recently appeared, and which will doubtless be commented upon in the columns of this *Review*. I will therefore end with a renewed expression of thanks to Professor Feuillerat and Professor Bang, and with an earnest petition. Cannot they arrange for their next volume of documents to be somewhat less massive and ponderous? Students of our earlier drama have already to go through a somewhat severe preparatory discipline; if they are to wrestle with a succession of such gigantic tomes as this, they will have to add to their other qualifications a course of training at the Sandow Institute.

F. S. Boas.

London.

The Chronicle History of King Leir: the Original of Shakespeare's 'King Lear.' Edited by Sidney Lee. (The Shakespeare Classics.) London: Chatto and Windus. 1909. 16mo. xliii + 131 pp.

This edition of the old play of *King Leir*, the first of any critical pretensions, consists of a modernized text accompanied by an introduction, notes, and a glossary. In the first of these Mr Lee has collected a considerable amount of information concerning the play and the legend of which it treats, and has presented it with the agreeable ease which habitually marks his work. The student anxious for instruction will find here the fullest banquet available, neatly served up in a readily digestible form. It is to be regretted that the material is not invariably on a level with the cooking.

Mr Lee begins his introduction with the words: 'The British legend, of which King Lear is the hero, was first turned to purposes of drama in the spring of 1594.' What are the facts? On 6 April 1594, 'kinge

leare,' the first *recorded* play on the subject, was performed at the Rose theatre during the tenancy of the Queen's and Sussex' men. It is not marked by Henslowe as a new play. Since it does not appear when Sussex' men alone occupied the house during the previous winter, it presumably belonged to the Queen's men. Their conjunction with Sussex' does not suggest a very flourishing condition: they did not act at court between 1591 and 1594: we know they were travelling in the provinces in 1592. They are not, therefore, very likely to have been buying new plays. *Leir* may, of course, have been a new piece acquired for the court performance on 6 Jan. 1593/4, but it is at least equally possible that it was an old play dating from before the plague of 1592–3. At any rate the assertion that the piece was written in the spring of 1594 is unwarranted. In his second sentence Mr Lee states that the play in question was performed on 6 April 'and, again, two days later,' i.e., on 8 April. So Henslowe's accounts indicate: but this is one of the many instances in which his dates are almost certainly wrong. For between the two performances of *Leir* he inserts one of the *Jew of Malta*, dated 7 April. But this was a Sunday and the evidence is against Sunday performances at Henslowe's houses. It is therefore practically certain that in this list the figures 7 and 8 should be 8 and 9. Mr Lee's third sentence informs us, as regards the Queen's and Sussex' men, that these 'Two distinguished companies of the day were acting in combination.' The 'combination' very likely consisted merely in an arrangement to use the same house on different days, and the epithet is certainly inappropriate. Sussex' was a most obscure company, which gave one solitary performance at court on 2 Jan. 1591/2: the Queen's had ceased to be of any account; the performance of 6 Jan. 1593/4 was their last at court, and they finally disappear from London records soon after this date.

King Leir was entered in the Stationers' Register by Edward White on 14 May 1594 (six days after the Queen's men had left for the provinces), but no publication is known to have been made under this licence, though the right in the play passed to White's heirs, his son's widow transferring it to Edward Aldee on 29 June 1624. Not only, however, is no edition by White known, but it is admittedly improbable that one ever existed. Mr Lee thinks that this improbability arises from the fact that apparently no copy survives; but that fact would hardly establish any improbability at all. It follows from the far more significant fact that when an edition did appear it appeared in pursuance of a fresh entry. Had an earlier edition existed, John Wright, who published the quarto of 1605, would never have entered the play a second time on the register. If he had acquired the right in the copy (which he had not, seeing it passed to White's son) he would have registered a transfer from White; if he had obtained leave to print a single edition he would have published it under the original licence; if he was indulging in piracy he would not have advertized the company's officers of the fact. The entry of 1605 practically proves that that of 1594 had been inoperative.

The second entry, dated 8 (not 18) May 1605, is, as Mr Lee says, 'of somewhat unusual character.' It consists of an ordinary licence in favour of Simon Stafford, together with a transfer to John Wright conditionally upon Stafford having the printing of the book. Now, there is nothing strange, as Mr Lee seems to imply, in this conditional transfer by itself; what is remarkable is that it follows immediately upon the original entry. There is, however, an almost classic parallel to this, and it is rather strange that Mr Lee should not have called attention to it. The *Merry Wives of Windsor*, namely, was entered on 8 Jan. 1601/2 to John Busby and transferred the same day to Arthur Johnson. This is a notorious instance of piracy, and there is every reason to suppose that Mr Pollard is correct in suggesting that Johnson may have refused to have anything to do with the wares of Master Busby (already notorious for the pirated *Henry V*) unless he took the responsibility of entering them under his own name. The same sort of thing may have happened in the case of *Leir*. In any case the entry forces us to regard Stafford as the 'begetter' (in Mr Lee's sense) of the copy, so that the early connection between John Wright and Edward White, the true owner of the rights in the play, becomes irrelevant. At least it altogether fails to support Mr Lee's contention that 'Wright's issue of *King Leir* in 1605 was doubtless the fruit of some friendly negotiation with his old master.' At most a vague recollection of having seen the manuscript at White's house may have suggested caution in acquiring the copy offered by Stafford.

Mr Lee has avoided, and one can only suppose has purposely avoided, mentioning the most important manner in which the old *Leir* bears upon the history of Shakespeare's play. But surely the question is one for discussion at least. Shakespeare's play we know was acted at court on 26 Dec. 1606. Mr Lee further informs us that 'Shakespeare in all probability penned his own play within a few months of its representation at Whitehall.' (This is stated as positive fact in his *Life of Shakespeare*.) But round this question a controversy, into which it is impossible to enter here, has long been raging. It is true that one side has seen in the publication of *Leir* the occasion of Shakespeare's turning his attention to the theme; but greater plausibility seems to attach to the opposite suggestion that *Leir* was published in the hope of catching a little of the popularity of *Lear*. The belated publication of the old play apart from any particular occasion would seem to demand explanation; the statement that it had 'been diuers and sundry times lately acted,' if taken strictly to apply to *Leir*, is highly improbable; while, most significant of all, the 1605 entry describes the play as a 'Tragecall historie,' though, as is well known, Shakespeare was the first to give it a tragical ending. These considerations cannot be dismissed, and although I am perfectly aware that arguments can be advanced on the other side, I do not think that Mr Lee has performed the duty of an editor in passing the whole question over in silence.

Turning to the play itself, Mr Lee writes: 'The statement on the title page of the 1605 edition that the piece "hath been divers and

sundry times lately acted" is amply confirmed by the abundance of stage directions scattered through the text.' Surely this is a most remarkable suggestion? To begin with, while Mr Lee has repeatedly asserted that abundance of stage directions indicates that a play was printed from a copy used in actual presentation, neither he nor anyone else has ever attempted to prove the point. In many cases, indeed, the opposite seems a fair inference. But be this as it may, what stage directions have to do with the frequency or the recentness of representation even Mr Lee's most devoted followers may be gravelled to explain.

Questions of personal judgment are involved in Mr Lee's suggestion of the possibility 'that *King Leir* was a first attempt in drama by the author of *Locrine*.' Of course it is easy to discover points of resemblance between the two plays, but I do not think they have ever before been held to indicate community of authorship. If we reject the charitable hypothesis (which has been advanced with some plausibility, though it does not appear to have come under Mr Lee's notice) that *Locrine* is intentionally burlesque, the play must be set down as one of the very worst in the language, a mere flood, so far as the ostensibly serious portions are concerned, of dreary bombast. To suppose that this came from the same hand as the respectable if uninspired *King Leir*, seems to me gratuitous; to suppose it to represent the work of the author's maturer days, after he had served his apprenticeship on *Leir*, seems to me perverse. If the two plays are to be ascribed to the same hand, then surely *Leir* must bear to *Locrine* much the same relationship as, on a very different plane, *Edward II* bears to *Tamburlaine*. Moreover, Mr Lee has critical opinion decidedly against him in making *Leir* older than *Locrine*, which it is usual to regard as a work of the 'eighties. In conclusion Mr Lee remarks that 'plausible grounds have...been advanced in favour of Greene's responsibility for *Locrine*,' which is true, though Peele is certainly the favourite candidate at the moment.

Who then was the author of *Leir*? I am quite of Mr Lee's opinion that speculation is rather futile, and that no very cogent arguments can be adduced in favour of any of the names suggested. Far less cogent, however, is Mr Lee's argument against them. 'It seems,' he says, 'hardly rational to seek the anonymous author of *King Leir* among writers in whose publications anonymity was habitually eschewed.' And again, 'Were Greene or Peele, Kyd or Lodge responsible for *King Leir*, the publisher is not likely to have proved false to his habitual practice, and to have withheld all key to the dramatist's name from the title-page.' To begin with, this argument obviously moves in a vicious circle, for till we know all the works of an author we cannot know whether anonymity was or was not his practice. Further its particular application is erroneous. In the case of Lodge, it is true, no anonymous play is by common consent allowed to be his: but then we know only one unassisted dramatic effort of his pen. Of Greene's acknowledged works (I am, of course, speaking of dramatic works, as alone relevant) two bear his name on the title-page, one his initials, and one is anonymous.

Of Peele's, two are fully acknowledged, one bears his initials, two are anonymous. Of Kyd's, one bears his name (and that is only a translation), while two, if not three, are anonymous. Be it further observed that the only plays by Greene or Peele for whose authorship there is good independent evidence, namely *Orlando Furioso* and the *Arraignment of Paris*, are alike anonymous; while the unsigned output of Kyd includes the only work by which he is, or ever has been, widely known. In saying that these writers habitually eschewed anonymity Mr Lee has entirely disregarded the facts.

But while properly sceptical of such claims to the authorship of *King Leir* as have been advanced by others, Mr Lee does not refrain from himself making a suggestion 'at any rate worth parenthetic notice.' It is far from being a happy one. Mr Lee thinks that the author of *Leir* may possibly have been William Rankins, a playwright who produced a drama on early British history, entitled *Mulmutius Dunwallow*, for the Admiral's men in the autumn of 1598. This is, indeed, nearly five years later than *Leir*, but Mr Lee is equal to the occasion. 'It should be added,' he observes, 'that Rankins and a friend in the same literary category as himself, Richard Hathway, were joint authors of that lost piece about John of Gaunt's Conquest of Spain, which was licensed to Edward White, for publication, at the same date in 1594 as *King Leir*, and that this historic drama was undergoing revision by the two authors, at Henslowe's expense, early in 1601.' Now the fact that Rankins and Hathway were revising an old play, would be no sort of evidence that they were the original authors of it. But Mr Lee has not even this amount of justification for the definite and elaborate statement I have just quoted. For the work upon which the playwrights were engaged in 1601 was not ostensibly revision at all, but original composition, and we happen to know that the undertaking was dropped. That the play bore some relation to the work entered by White in 1594 seems probable, but what evidence is there that this was anything more dramatic than a chapbook? Mr Lee will have to find better evidence than this for supposing that Rankins was at work in 1594 before his suggestion that he was the author of *Leir* will deserve even 'parenthetic notice.'

The most satisfactory as well as the longest portion of Mr Lee's introduction is that dealing with the history of the legend of the British king in English literature from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare. In this he had the advantage of consulting Dr Perrett's elaborate study in *Palaestra*, to which he acknowledges his debt.

W. W. Greg.

Cambridge.

Shakespeare's Plutarch. Edited by C. F. Tucker Brooke. (The Shakespeare Library.) London: Chatto and Windus. 1909. 2 vols. 8vo. xxiv + 211, xix + 230 pp.

The earlier volume contains the main sources of Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, viz., North's translations of Plutarch's Lives of Julius Caesar and of Marcus Brutus: the later volume the main sources of *Antony and Cleopatra* and of *Coriolanus*, the Lives of Marcus Antonius and Caius Martius Coriolanus. Each volume contains a satisfactory and pleasantly written Introduction; and Notes, partly of a textual kind, partly explanatory of Elizabethan forms and idioms. The latter are designed for the general reader, and might perhaps have been put in a short glossary by themselves.

Mr Tucker Brooke's text follows North's first edition, that of 1579. We share his regret that his publishers obliged him to modernise the spelling. This obligation has put him in some difficulty in regard to the treatment of proper names, and in dealing with them he does not seem to have followed any very consistent rule. Sometimes he substitutes classical forms for those used by North. Thus he alters Miletum, Callæcians, Oceanum, Arax, Hedui, Gomphes, Sallutius, Circees, Philippes, Hala, Buthrotus, Cyzicum, Piræa, Philippides, Cytheride, Phraortes, Falerna, Manchus, Getes, Hales, Leuctres, Corioles, Pyle, to Miletus, Calaicans (no very correct equivalent of Καλλαϊκούς), Oceanus, Arar, Aedui, Gomphi, Sallution, Circeii, Philippi, Ahala, Buthrotum, Cyzicus, Piræus, Philippics, Cytheris, Phraates, Falernus, Malchus (though Shakespeare borrows the form Manchus), Getae, Halae, Leuctra, Corioli (incorrectly asserting that this is Shakespeare's form of the word), Pylos. Although, on I, p. 32, he keeps 'Nervians' in the text and 'Nervii' in the margin, on p. 33 he alters 'Luke' of the text to agree with 'Luca' in the margin. He alters 'Faonius,' though this is the form used both by Amyot and Plutarch, to the Latin 'Favonius.' On I, p. 88, where 'Persians' stands wrongly for 'Parthians,' our editor keeps the word: on II, p. 57, he alters 'Persia' to 'Parthia.' He keeps the form Brutes without altering it to Bruti, Decius where Amyot and Plutarch have Decimus, Luke where Amyot has Lucanie (Lucania), Thyreus where Plutarch has Θύρσος, Vicanians where the classical form would be Lavicanians, Volsces (Amyot, Volsques). It seems to me that it would have been better to keep North's forms throughout and to give their classical equivalents in the notes. In changing 'scrat' to 'scratch' and 'besides himself' to 'beside himself,' Mr Brooke seems to go beyond what is meant by modernization of spelling. He might well feel uncertain what to do with North's 'at toe side,' 'atoside,' but I think the form he has adopted 'at o' side' is not at all satisfactory. The word 'o'' at once suggests 'of,' not 'one.' On I, p. 170, Mr Brooke takes 'I trust' as 'the present of continued action.' It seems to me to be a syncopated form of 'I trusted.'

The two volumes are tastefully printed and light in the hand. Passages of North which were apparently used by Shakespeare are marked

by an asterisk at the end of each line, lines of which the actual wording was borrowed are marked by a dagger. The edition is therefore eminently useful as well as elegant, and is another obligation conferred upon us by an editor who has already done a great deal in a short time and from whom we have reason to expect a long series of scholarly works in the future.

G. C. Moore Smith.

Sheffield.

A History of English Prosody. By George Saintsbury. Vol. iii. London: Macmillan. 1910. 8vo. xiv + 562 pp.

With this third volume, covering the period from 1783 (the date of the publication of Blake's *Poetical Sketches*) to the present time, Professor Saintsbury completes his *History of English Prosody*. His appreciation of what is good in poetry is always cordial, but never is it more spontaneous or more enthusiastic than with regard to the poets whose work belongs to his own lifetime, Tennyson, Browning, Morris, Rossetti and Swinburne. This volume, like the preceding ones, is very readable, and all the more so because of the strong vein of egotism which runs through it. The author lets us know very definitely what he admires and what he dislikes, and though his admiration is sometimes determined by controversial interests, yet on the whole the reader can agree with him in his verdicts and can find pleasure in going through the gallery of English poets of the nineteenth century under his guidance. The personal and individual note is always there, and it shews itself, among other things, in the proportion of space assigned by the author to the subjects of which he has to treat. He gives to Coleridge, Shelley and Keats thirteen or fourteen pages each, to Tennyson thirty-two, to Browning twenty-four, and to William Morris eighteen. This is not because the latter are more important for the prosody of the nineteenth century than the former, but apparently because it pleases him better to talk at length about the poets who come within his living memory, and whose work supplies a greater variety of lyrical stanzas; for Professor Saintsbury throughout shews himself more keenly interested in stanza than in line. Similarly, if it pleases him to give the reasons for his admiration he does so; and if not, he leaves us to find out for ourselves. There are many happy and illuminating observations, as this of *The Lady of Shalott*, 'The river that springs in the first line floats us down to the end with its own quiet restlessness—a mirror in general smoothness, dinted with eddying swirls of rhythm' (p. 194), but almost everywhere there is a want of systematic analysis.

The author appreciates metrical and rhythmical effects, but he is no prosodist in the proper sense of the word. If he is to justify his claim to that title, he must not be satisfied to tell us that the blank verse of *Alastor* is good, and that it gives him great pleasure to read it and to scan it, or even that it has a certain breathlessness, plenty of

trisyllabic feet, and a tendency to strong pauses at or near the middle of the line (p. 105). We ought to have had an analysis of the verse, illustrated fully by examples, and shewing what are its really characteristic and original features,

> Of wave ruining on wave, and blast on blast
> Descending.

And similarly with Shelley's lyrics. Nothing of any consequence is said about them, though we are told that the *Lines written among the Euganean Hills* shew an absolute mastery of the trochaic heptasyllable, sometimes but not often varied by the full iambic dimeter, and of *The Cloud* and *The Skylark* that 'the one is of the capital examples of triple, the other of the capital examples of common time in our prosody' (p. 115). The poet may be unconscious of the manner in which his rhythmical effects are produced, and this was no doubt the case with Shelley, but it is the business of the critic to shew clearly on what conditions they depend, and Professor Saintsbury hardly even attempts the task in this instance. With Keats, whose metrical development is more readily traced, he is more successful, though here too there are some very marked omissions. What, for example, is to be said of an account of the prosody of Keats which says nothing whatever about vowel-music?

On Tennyson and Browning, and afterwards on Morris and Swinburne, the author is more satisfactory, and the air has by this time been cleared to some extent by the disappearance of the trisyllabic foot question, which has played so large a part in previous discussions that the author has sometimes been unable to attend to anything else. The great prosodic revolution has now been accomplished: Substitution and Equivalence have now been admitted to their proper position, and it is even hinted that Tennyson in his blank verse called in the aid of these prosodic nymphs, side by side with the yet more dangerous Epanaphora and Epanorthosis, a trifle too often. There can be no doubt about the author's appreciation of the above-named poets, and he often succeeds in communicating his feeling to the reader. The prosodic importance of William Morris is strongly but not unduly emphasised, and in the case of Swinburne it is pleasant to see the enthusiasm with which he was greeted by his early readers reproduced now for a generation which has rather tired of his lyric tunes. Here, too, there are curious gaps, and it will hardly be believed that in the eighteen pages which deal with Swinburne's prosody not a single reference is made to that use and abuse of alliteration which is perhaps the most striking and characteristic feature of his verse. Among the minor poets Kingsley is duly appreciated in the earlier generation and Christina Rossetti in the later. On the other hand the author is rather hard on Mrs Browning, chiefly because of her bad rhymes, and on Matthew Arnold, probably on the score of his irregular rhymeless lyrics after the German fashion. In any case less than justice is done to his blank verse and to his elegiac quatrains, though the prosodic merits of *The Forsaken Merman*, *The Scholar-Gipsy* and *Westminster Abbey* are allowed.

Towards the end of his work the author seems to have become partly conscious that in the survey of English poets which he has chosen to call a history of English prosody most of the important matters with which prosody is concerned have been omitted; and he endeavours accordingly to supply what is missing in a series of appendices. After using the blessed word 'foot' as a solution of all difficulties throughout the three volumes, he comes at last to consider the question, 'What is a foot?' in an appendix to the third volume; but it can hardly be said that he supplies a satisfactory answer to this question. Again, the subject of 'Alliteration and Vowel-music, 1600—1900' is disposed of in an appendix of less than three pages, having been almost entirely neglected in the preceding three volumes. There is another appendix of about the same length on 'Rhyme, 1600—1900,' enunciating the great principle, duly emphasised by italics, that 'any letter or combination of letters, may, for rhyming purposes, take in one word the sound that it bears in another.' We are expected, apparently, to believe that Dryden rhymes 'travellers' to 'stars' because 'er' has the sound of 'ar' in 'clerk,' that when a poet rhymes 'love' with 'move,' one of these words takes 'for rhyming purposes' the sound of the other, that Pope rhymes 'tea' and 'obey' together, not because 'tea' was frequently pronounced 'tay,' but because 'ea' is so pronounced in such words as 'break,' and presumably also 'oblig'd' with 'besieg'd' because 'i' in 'machine' had what Professor Saintsbury would call the 'ee' sound. We have seldom heard anything more preposterous than the suggestion that poets have ever followed any such rule; and if Professor Saintsbury does not mean to suggest this, he has expressed himself very unfortunately.

Suspicions have been raised from the first by this history of English prosody that the author has no real grasp of the principles of English metre, and they are confirmed in this third volume by the discussions of metrical theories which it contains, as well as by the appendix, 'What is a Foot?' Professor Saintsbury assumes that there is a fundamental opposition in prosodic theory between 'foot' and 'accent' (or, as he prefers to express it, between 'foot-men' and 'accent-men'). 'A man who really goes by feet can never really go by accents' (p. 453); but the really fundamental opposition, as the author seems in one place to admit (p. 398), is between accent and quantity, and the question is whether the English foot or unit of metre is dependent on the one or on the other. From the first a confusion between accent and quantity has been visible in this work; and it is hardly necessary to say that where such confusion exists, there can be no sound metrical theory. At first the author boldly laid down the principle that accent and quantity are practically the same thing; but he has gradually modified this view under the influence of criticism. He nowhere defines accent, however, and he does not believe that quantity rests or ever rested solely on time, though he does not tell us on what else it depends; so that these terms practically mean nothing in his mouth. This want of proper distinction and definition is made positively ludicrous by the

fact that in the chapter which discusses the English hexameter even Professor Saintsbury is compelled to use the word 'accentual' definitely in opposition to 'quantitative,' and thereby to admit the fact that accent may be the basis of a foot just as well as quantity; and it is abundantly clear that in English verse generally not quantity but accent supplies the metrical basis. In the word 'presence' the first syllable is obviously short and the second long: nevertheless the fact that the accent is upon the first determines that in English verse of the ordinary kind this is a trochaic and not an iambic foot. (There is no objection to the use of these terms, if it be remembered that they are transferred.) The accent does not in the least lengthen the syllable in this instance, rather perhaps tends to shorten it; it is in fact, I think, somewhat shorter in this word than in the verb 'present,' where the accent is thrown on the second syllable, though it is true that in some cases the accent has a tendency to lengthen the syllable on which it falls. The whole chapter on the English hexameter in this book is one series of indications that the author either cannot or will not distinguish the length from the accentual value of a syllable.

> I am told that 'bănners,' 'fŏllow,' 'yĕllow' are short, judging not by accent but by time in pronunciation and quantity of vowel.
>
> Bănners, yĕllow, glorious, golden,
>
> *short*! Why to any one with a poetical ear and tongue 'banners' and 'yellow' must here be doubly or trebly 'longed' trochees, the first syllable being the equivalent of that of the undoubted long-short 'glōrĭ' and 'gōldĕn.'...I am very well aware that this notion of prolongation is called a delusion by some worthy persons. But time is time, and length of time is length of time. With Pickwickian-fictitious uses of these words, *je n'ai que faire* (p. 428 f.).

He adds very confidently that a man who pronounces 'better' and 'atom' in the same time pronounces wrong.

Can there be more complete evidence of confusion of mind, than is afforded by the above passage? The first syllables of 'Banner' and 'yellow' must be long, the author argues, because the words are equivalent in the metre to 'glorious' (that is what he must mean, not 'glori') and 'golden.' Equivalent in what sense? Those against whom he is arguing say that these are all accent-trochees and therefore equivalent in an accent verse, though in quantity, that is in length of time taken by the pronunciation, some have the first syllable long and others short. Professor Saintsbury assumes the very position that he has to prove, namely that the metre requires equivalence in quantity, and thence argues that because the first syllable of 'golden' is long, therefore the first syllable of 'yellow' must be long. But 'time is time and length of time is length of time,' as he himself says, and it might easily be shewn by experiment that 'yellow,' 'atom,' 'batter' are pronounced practically in the same time, and 'glorious,' 'golden' in a different and longer time: there is no question here of 'Pickwickian-fictitious' uses of words. This is a specimen of the kind of reasoning used by one who proceeds a few pages later to complain of the 'extraordinary

confusion of mind with which nearly all English writers have approached, and even still continue to approach, the subjects of Accent and Quantity in our language' (p. 434).

Professor Saintsbury will probably say that accent is not a safe basis for English or any other verse; and he will recall the familiar fact that the five-measure line, for example, has not always five natural accents, that such lines as

Left him at large to his own dark designs,

or

To slumber here as in the vales of Heav'n,

are metrically unexceptionable, though they have only four natural accents[1]. But, as Professor Saintsbury very properly observes, the ear is the true judge, and what the ear admits will pass; so that, the norm of the verse being established for the ear, there is a certain latitude allowed in the acceptance of a combination of syllables which do not contain a true natural accent, as equivalent to an accent foot. These then are fictitious or conventional accents, and Professor Saintsbury will no doubt refuse to have anything to do with them; but nevertheless, if 'to his' and 'as in' are to be admitted as feet in any sense, it must be by some kind of convention, for however we may define a foot, they are not really equivalent to the other feet in the line, and can be made equivalent only by a metrical fiction of some kind, the ear, accustomed to the normal rhythm, consenting to accept them[2].

It is not suggested, of course, that Professor Saintsbury scans by quantity, though he seems at one time to accept the expression 'isochronous interval' as his definition of a foot. The complaint that we have to make is that he has no principle of scansion at all, and that the confusion between accent and quantity, two things which it is essential to distinguish, hopelessly vitiates all the theoretical part of his work. The position becomes most absurd, as I have said, in the discussion on the English hexameter, where Professor Saintsbury, who has been all along denouncing those who scan English verse by accent, comes near to enunciating the theory that Classical hexameters are not to be scanned by quantity, and actually declares that the English accentual hexameter is '*in form* a fairly adequate equivalent of the verse of Virgil' (p. 399). To this it is a sufficient answer to point out that in English a purely accentual hexameter, that is one in which quantity is

[1] It is surprising that the author should say (p. 525) that he has never met with a pyrrhic in an English verse. It will be noted that in Milton's lines a pyrrhic is often compensated, as in the first-quoted verse, by additional weight in a neighbouring foot, 'own dark' in this case, and the use of the pyrrhic is contributory to emphasis of other parts of the line.

[2] Here I may be allowed to remark, that when Coleridge in his note on the metre of *Christabel* said that though the syllables might vary from seven to twelve, yet in each line the accents would be found to be only four, he probably meant that the number of accents in the line would never exceed four, not that he intended to deprive himself of the licences which convention allowed in the case of the line of ordinary syllable length. It may be noted that where the normal number of syllables is exceeded, the accents are usually well marked, and the metre is thus saved from disorganisation.

not taken into account at all, must necessarily be mainly dactylic,—the supply of accentual spondees is quite insufficient, and trochees cannot be accepted to any great extent as spondees except at the end of the line,—whereas the rhythm of the Virgilian hexameter essentially depends on an approximately even balance of dactyl and spondee. Naturally he is quite unable to understand the quantitative hexameter in English, and being accustomed, as he says, to pronounce in Latin verse *căno* with the accent on the last syllable, so as to coincide with the quantity (p. 417), he insists of course that the same thing shall be done in English quantitative verse, and then exclaims with horror at the result. Of course, if English quantitative hexameters are to have a Virgilian effect, care must be taken that accent and quantity do not too frequently coincide, and above all the accent must never be forced so as to make them coincide. The objection to such verses is not that they are not beautiful when well written, as occasionally by Spedding, but that they are hardly possible to write. No one, so far as I know, has yet succeeded in writing ten successive lines without a false quantity; and this is a sufficient objection. It was worth while, however, to attempt them, if only to shew how little the popular accentual hexameter does really produce the effect of the classical metre, and to bring out the important relation between accent and quantity, upon which much of the harmony both of classical and of English verse depends[1]. W. J. Stone quotes 'The breezy call of incense-breathing Morn,' where the unaccented second syllable of 'incense' is the longest syllable in the line, and 'pleases the ear just because it is long and with its length combats the accent.' Perhaps 'combats' is not a very happy word to use as descriptive of an element of harmony, but the principle is sound, and may be illustrated from any page of Milton. The same writer justly defines the difference between ancient and modern metres thus: 'in the one the verse scans by quantity alone, the accent being used only as an ornament, to avoid monotony, and in the other the functions are exactly reversed, the accent deciding scansion, the quantity giving variety.' We may add that the later Latin accent metres, in which the modern principle is fully adopted, are very instructive as to this difference; as

> Apparebit repentina magna dies domini,
> Fur obscura velut nocte improvisos occupans,
> Brevis totus tum parebit prisci luxus saeculi,
> Totum simul cum clarebit praeterisse saeculum.

The want of sound and consistent principles vitiates much of Professor Saintsbury's discussion in this volume of the theories of other prosodists: but it is pleasant to observe that he does justice here to the work of his arch-enemy Guest (whom, however, he still calls Master of Sidney).

[1] Professor Saintsbury says, or seems to say (p. 426), that in Homer accent and length of syllable coincide, 'unless the Alexandrians were wrong.' He bids us glance at the first open page for a proof of this. I do so, and light upon

> ὣς Δαναοὶ εἶως μὲν ὁμιλαδὸν αἰὲν ἔποντο
> . . . . . νύσσοντες ξίφεσίν τε καὶ ἔγχεσιν ἀμφιγύοισι.

What can he mean?

For though Guest's principles were hopelessly wrong, his method (which, if man were not the most inconsistent of animals, ought to have taken his principles and wrung their necks) is almost perfectly right. It is, except when the principles interfere, purely historical; and the history is so pervading that it automatically points out the errors of the principles themselves. Here you have arranged, in chronological order for the most part, examples of almost all English lines and of a very large number of line-combinations. You could not have found them out for yourself (*crede experto!*) without years of labour and trouble. Here all, or most of it, is done to your hand; and you have only got to supplement it with a similar historical conspectus of later movements and tendencies, to have all your necessary materials before you. (p. 290.)

Professor Saintsbury in one passage wittily compares himself to Hippocleides in Herodotus, who stood on his head upon the table and performed unseemly antics with his legs; and it is to be feared that, like Hippocleides, he has 'danced away his marriage'; in other words that having chosen to amuse himself with the subject of prosody rather than to deal with it thoroughly and systematically, he has failed to produce a book which can take its place as a standard authority. But for this he perhaps cares as little as his prototype. It may be remarked that several times in the course of this volume he hints at a history of English prose rhythms as his next work, and we shall look forward to it with interest. He will here be on comparatively fresh ground, and will at least have less temptation to spend his time in tilting at supposed opponents, while the subject will lend itself better to the unsystematic mode of treatment which in the history of verse rhythms we find unsatisfactory.

G. C. Macaulay.

Cambridge.

Confision del Amante por Joan Goer. Spanische Übersetzung von John Gowers Confessio Amantis. Herausgegeben von A. Birch-Hirschfeld. Leipzig: Seele & Co. 1909. 8vo. xxxiv + 553 pp.

The existence of an early fifteenth century translation into Spanish prose of the *Confessio Amantis* is rather a remarkable phenomenon. No other instance occurs, probably, of the contemporary translation of a Middle English book into any other European language. I called attention to the manuscript of this version some ten years ago in my edition of Gower, having been informed of it first by Mr Fitzmaurice Kelly, and having obtained some details with regard to it from the Librarian of the Escorial. It has now been printed from a transcript made by the late Hermann Knust, with a short Introduction by the editor, followed by a summary of the contents of the book itself. The manuscript is said to belong to the early years of the fifteenth century, and it purports to be a Castilian version made by one Juan de Cuenca from a Portuguese translation by an Englishman, Robert Paym (probably Payne), an ecclesiastic resident at Lisbon. 'Este libro es llamado confisyon del amante, el qual compuso Juan Goer natural del rreyno de Ynglaterra. E fue tornado en lenguaje portogues por Rroberto Paym

natural del dicho Reyno e canonigo de la çibdad de Lixboa. E despues fue sacado en lenguaje castellano por Juan de Cuenca vesino de la çibdad de Huete.'

No doubt the large collection of stories from various sources, with a more or less moral bearing, which is to be found in the *Confessio Amantis* proved useful to preachers, and probably the book owed to this fact the unique honour of translation. The translation is made, as I formerly pointed out, from the earliest form of the text, with the dedication to Richard II and the conclusion which belongs to this recension, and, of course, with omission of the passages in the fifth and seventh books which are characteristic of the intermediate text.

The translation is tolerably faithful. There is an omission of about 420 lines in the fourth book (ll. 1813—2233), but this almost certainly proceeds from the loss of two leaves in the manuscript used, an explanation which is indicated both by the amount of the loss and by the absence of proper connexion. Another supposed omission which is mentioned by the editor, viz., VII, 3207*—3360* is concerned with one of the passages which did not occur in the text that the translator followed. There is also some expansion of the tale of Constantine (after VII, 3329), where a short reflection is enlarged into a speech of some length.

As an example of the style of translation we may take a passage from the tale of Rosiphilee (*Conf. Am.*, IV, 1329—1385):

> La fija del rrey que esto veya, tirose a fuera con pura verguença e ascondiose debaxo de los rramos por tal de las dexar pasar, commo aquella que penso en su voluntad que non era digna de preguntar a dueñas de tan alto estado, no embargante que ella saber quisiera quien eran mas que a ser señora de todo el mundo. E alço un poco la cabeça fuera del bosque mirando en derredor e vido venir una muger detras de las otrasençima de un cavallo morsillo magro, los quadriles de fuera e coxqueava commo si toviese enclavadura de que la muger mucho se quexava, porque esto cavallo estava en punto de se perder, e tenia en la frente una estrella blanca commo quier que el freno que traja de piedras preçiosas era muy rrico, e la su silla mala e su brial muy desharrapado ; e traya alderredor de si de cabestros mas de quatro çientos. E tanto que llego açerca de la ynfanta, mirola e vido commo era muger fermosa e de buen pareçer, aunque de otra parte le menguase la graçia : e asi penso que esta le diria nuevas de las otras que antes viera. E salio entonçes fuera rrogandole que esperase e dixo : desid, hermana, que mugeres son aquellas que van aca adelante tan riccamente apostadas. La muger que vinia asas llena de pesar, rrespondio muy mansamente disiendo : señora, estas son de aquellas que verdaderamente sirvieron al amor en su tienpo, e donde tenian sus coraçones, sienpre mantovieron verdad. Agora, señora, quedad con dios que no puedo mas aqui aguardar porque a mi conviene de yr a servir mi ofiçio, por ende dadme liçençia que no puedo mas aqui estar.

This is a close translation (though the rendering is not quite accurate throughout), and at the same time it is quite readable and idiomatic. Probably the version profited by its passage through two hands, the one that of an Englishman, who understood the original fairly well, and the other that of a native of Castile, who wrote in good Spanish.

The editorial work seems to be competently done ; but it is to be

regretted that no account is given of the manuscript except from the catalogue of the Library. It would be interesting to know whether the date 1400, which is there confidently assigned to it, rests on any substantial grounds. It must be a rather remarkable book in appearance, very small and very thick, for it is written in double columns containing each only about a hundred and twenty words, and it has no fewer than four hundred and eleven leaves. It is difficult to say why the original table of contents should be printed at the end instead of the beginning of the book, as in the manuscript, unless to make way for the editor's full account of the contents of the *Confessio Amantis*, which we might well have dispensed with. We owe thanks, however, in any case, to those who have placed within our reach this most interesting literary document.

G. C. Macaulay.

Cambridge.

Peacock's Memoirs of Shelley, with Shelley's Letters to Peacock. Edited by H. F. B. Brett-Smith. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1909. 8vo. xxviii + 219 pp.

Mr Brett-Smith has done good service in reprinting Peacock's *Memoirs of Shelley*, together with Shelley's letters to Peacock, in a small and convenient volume. The *Memoirs* are too much neglected now that so many longer and more careful studies of Shelley and his work have appeared, but however careful and critical later biographers may be, nothing can have the same vivid interest as an account of the poet from one of his most intimate friends, especially when, as in this case, intimacy does not lead to indiscriminate admiration. The frankness with which Peacock disbelieves all Shelley's tales of mysterious adventure and midnight alarm, is as delightful as the naivety with which the poet accepts his incredulity, and the fact that this put no strain upon their friendship says much for their power of understanding each other. Most important of all, from a biographical point of view, the *Memoirs* give us the true picture of Harriet. The tall, graceful woman, 'her speech the essence of frankness and cordiality; her spirits always cheerful; her laugh spontaneous, hearty, and joyous,' has little in common with the Dora Copperfields amongst whom she is usually classed.

The letters also are of great interest. Not only are the descriptive passages which they contain fine in themselves, but they not unfrequently shew the inception of some thought or phrase which later finds a place in Shelley's poetry. Mr Brett-Smith points out several striking instances of this in comparing the letter of March 23rd, 1819, describing the arch of Constantine, with Act II, sc. iv, ll. 135—9 of *Prometheus Unbound*.

The volume has been edited in scholarly fashion. It is not overloaded with notes, and what comments there are, are interesting and to

the point. The introduction is thoughtful and suggestive; we may be inclined to quarrel with the statement that Shelley's 'instant and joyful recognition of the identity of Scythrop,' was probably due to his feeling 'flattered by the implied compliment,' but Mr Brett-Smith's criticisms are for the most part sound and well-reasoned, and his thumb-nail sketch of the relations between the two friends is so clearly drawn that we are left regretting that the exigences of space apparently forbade its being on a larger scale.

G. E. Hadow.

Cirencester.

Tennyson. By Henry Jones. (Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. iv.) London: Henry Frowde. 1909. 8vo.

Tennyson. By W. P. Ker. (The Leslie Stephen Lecture for 1909.) Cambridge: University Press. 1909. 8vo. 31 pp.

'The Devil's advocate,' says Professor Ker, 'is always worth listening to, and not always easy to refute.' There is something pathetic in the fact that both these lectures on the most popular English poet of the last century, have a note of half-defiant apology, that they take it for granted that the Devil's advocate will have been busy with the audiences who listen to them. In his own day, the majority of people looked upon Tennyson's poems in much the same light as they regarded the Sistine Madonna: their consummate artistic skill was sufficiently obvious to delight even the uninitiated, and the religious feeling embodied in so exquisite a form was simple enough to appeal to that easily awakened sentimentality which underlies the apparent coldness of the average Englishman, and deep enough to stir a truer and more profound emotion in the hearts of those 'whose very life,' as Professor Jones says, 'rests on moral convictions and religious beliefs which they cannot defend by conscious reasoning.' To many people a statement becomes an axiom as soon as it is put into verse, and men and women who were pained and bewildered by the conflict and turmoil which surrounded the Oxford Movement and the controversy on 'Darwinism,' turned with relief to the sweet and placid morality of King Arthur, or the faith which conquers the pain of *In Memoriam.* And Tennyson has paid the penalty of a popularity founded on sentiment rather than on genuine appreciation. His thoughts are no longer our thoughts, and it is the fashion to speak of him with a certain cheap contempt. No doubt the greatest poets can never become out of date; as Professor Jones puts it, 'No one now believes in the theology of Homer, but still we offer sweet sacrifice to his gods and goddesses.' 'The nobler kind [of thought],' says Professor Ker, 'is not discourse but vision. It does not lend itself to discussion; if it is once apprehended, there is no more to be said.' And both these champions of Tennyson have to admit that he does not as a rule possess this unclouded vision. 'Much of his reasoning,'

says Professor Ker, 'is opinion, as good as that of other thinkers, but not founded, as most of Wordsworth's is, on certain and irrefragable knowledge.' But never have the current thoughts of an age been put into more exquisite words, never was there an artist who gave the world a richer gallery of jewelled pictures, a wider range of perfect melodies: 'Whatever may be the compass of the voice, there can be no question of the uniqueness of its quality.' It is upon this unique beauty of form that both lecturers lay stress. Professor Jones, with characteristic modesty, professes to represent the point of view of 'the common mind,' and makes it clear how much 'the multitudes of simple men and women' owe to 'the last undisputed national poet of England.' Professor Ker touches on the deeper questions of poetic thought and expression, and uses his wide knowledge of the literature of many countries to illustrate and enrich what he says. Both lectures, though necessarily slight, are full of interest and suggestion, and will be welcomed by all lovers and students of Tennyson.

G. E. Hadow.

Cirencester.

Der altenglische Junius-Psalter. Die Interlinear-Glosse der Handschrift Junius 27 der Bodleiana zu Oxford. Herausgegeben von Eduard Brenner. Heidelberg: Winter. 1909. 8vo. xlii + 194 pp.

An attempt to place within reach of all the so-called Junius Psalter, hitherto accessible to the majority of students only in the extracts printed by Lindelöf, will meet with general approval. Recent events have excited a fresh interest in this Psalter, and the appearance of what is primarily a plain and complete reprint of the text is most opportune.

In this part of his work the editor, whose labours were materially lightened by the work of Lindelöf and Sweet, may fairly claim to have succeeded. His text of the English and Latin versions shews that he has spared himself no pains, and his industry has enabled him to correct not a few mistakes in the work of his predecessors. Dr Brenner's treatment of his text is on the whole satisfactory. With the exception of the Latin headings, which, being unglossed, are without interest in the present case, the text is reproduced in its entirety, and with very few deviations from the manuscript. One of these consists in the very convenient division of the text into verses, in conformity with the system adopted in the Vespasian Psalter. This will greatly facilitate reference. The contractions occurring in the English glosses (except the regular form for *and*) are expanded; those in the Latin text are similarly treated, except in the case of a few commonly recurring words. In printing the text, the editor has carried out a normalised system in the division of words, which he justifies as being in accordance with the ordinary practice of the scribe. This has led him into occasional inconsistencies and into some positive mistakes; thus we have *awegadrife* 41^{10},

42^{2}, *aweg adrife* 43^{10}, *negesawon* 57^{9}, *ad adaudiendum* 102^{20}, *abste* 83^{6}, *bene fecit* 114^{7}. The editor has occasionally supplied in the Latin version missing portions of words, but he has not carried out this practice with any degree of consistency; thus in the same psalm (41) *itivit* 3 is emended, but *exprobaverunt* 11, is left unaltered. Nor is the method of indicating an emendation satisfactory; occasionally brackets are used (e.g., 90^{2}), but more usually Roman type is employed (e.g., 40^{3}); sometimes the emendation is recorded in a footnote (e.g., 31^{2}), sometimes not (e.g., 131^{2}). On the other hand, Dr Brenner has not scrupled to insert an asterisk, where, as he says somewhat boldly, 'ich unzweifelhaft annehmen konnte, dass der Glossator bezw. Schreiber etwas anderes hat schreiben wollen, als er geschrieben hat.' The advantages of this plan are obvious, but it is doubtful if much is gained by the retention of such monstrosities as *gfher* 16^{1}, *gestibtode* 72^{15}, *geswiworlice* 82^{3} in the text. Dr Brenner's use of the asterisk is also open to question in several cases. For example, *qui* 9^{18}, *universi* 24^{10} (for *quae, universae*), *gedrofde* 45^{7}, *wiþed* 117^{27} (for genitive), are all unnoticed; while *soð* 30^{7}, 58^{16} (= *autem, vero*), *deaðe* 57^{5} (= *surdus*) are marked. The footnotes, which are few in number, are devoted to matters of palaeographic interest, to the correction of former misreadings, and to the elucidation of points of difficulty in the text. In certain of these the editor has used a somewhat clumsy method of expression; thus (118^{145}) 'Handschrift C < mavi und reqirā'; or again (9^{5}) *intingan* 'sieht ungefähr wie intingbn aus.' There is also a confusion of terms here, as in the Introduction, in the use of the word 'Vorlage' as synonymous with 'Vespasian Psalter.' It would have been well if Dr Brenner had given us a few more footnotes on passages where the reading of the MS. seems to require additional confirmation—a practice he has adopted in 46^{6}, 118^{131}. This would have been particularly welcome in cases where a word remains unglossed (e.g., 17^{30}, 36^{7}, 117^{3}), or in cases where *d* and ð seem to have been confused (e.g., 95^{10}, $102^{14, 15}$). A few additional notes of this kind would have added considerably to the value of the book, especially since the text is not entirely free from misprints; e.g., *obdormian* 4^{9}, *dilalatasti* 17^{37}, *adnuntiavernut* 63^{10}, *pungwangum* 131^{5}.

The pages preceding the text contain an Introduction and an Appendix, the latter being a list, alphabetically arranged, of the cases in which the English rendering of the present version differs from that of the Vespasian Psalter. In the former, Dr Brenner first gives a description of the manuscript, together with an account of the work of his predecessors. This is adequate, although it seems questionable whether the reasons given admit of the manuscript being dated within a period of twenty-five years. The palaeographic evidence, which Dr Brenner passes over, would point to a later date than that claimed. The remainder of the Introduction suffers from a confusion of aims. Dr Brenner's chief concern is evidently to discuss the relationship of the two psalters, and with this object in view he first gives a list of parallel passages and then devotes seventeen pages to an investigation of the

'Lautstand der Juniusglosse im Vergleich zu dem der Vespasianglosse.' It is a matter of regret that Dr Brenner has not carried this investigation further; it would have been useful, for instance, if he had gone beyond the province of Phonology and given us some particulars concerning the inflexional endings. But instead, the editor next proceeds to draw conclusions relative to the dialect of the Junius Psalter, although, as he informs us himself, his material is insufficient. The final results, therefore, are hardly convincing. 'Der Dialekt der Glosse ist ein (vielleicht dem Anglischen benachbartes) "sächsisches Patois" '—the inverted commas are placed here by Dr Brenner, who thus evidently shares our suspicions of this elastic dialect. How far this confusion of aims will affect the value of the book must be left to future workers in the same field to decide; but it will probably be agreed that the whole subject would have been more advanced, if Dr Brenner had followed out one plan consistently and given us either a complete 'Darstellung der Sprache' or a more exhaustive comparison with the language of the Vespasian Psalter. Probably the former alternative would have been the more useful, because it would have led to a glossary, the omission of which is greatly to be deplored, because Dr Brenner gives provokingly few references to the text.

A few points in the Introduction may be singled out for comment. It is surely too much to describe (§ 9) *gemiclode*, the rendering of *mirificavit* 30^{22}, as an 'Übersetzungsfehler.' To say (§ 9) that '*wundorlic* würde dem Dialekt des Glossators entsprechen' is hardly convincing in view of *wundur* 39^{6}. Unless his reference is wrong, Dr Brenner is guilty (§ 9) of mistaking a nom. plur. fem. for a voc. masc. sing. in 44^{6}. To speak about 'Neubildungen' (§ 18) after saying that '(wg)$\bar{a}$ vor Nasal ist in der Regel >$\bar{o}$ geworden,' argues a confusion of thought. Dr Brenner's new explanation of O.E. *smēc, smēc*, is rendered untenable by the form of O.E. *smoca*, and he does not seem to realise the full difficulty of the question. The statement (§ 37) that the digraph (*æ*) is consistently used in the present text for O.E. *æ*, needs modification in view of *ondraedende* 102^{11}; it is further extremely unlikely that the rare word *a-ieldan* should have been used, where the other psalters have the uncompounded form. In the remarks on the *o, a* umlaut (§ 46) the influence of different classes of consonants should have been noticed.

In the Appendix it is difficult to see why cases like *frox* (Junius) =*forsc* (Vespasian) can be described as 'Varianten im Wortgebrauch'; or why there should have been included here cases in which Junius and Vespasian have glosses for different Latin words (e.g., *wel don*=*bledsian*, from *beneficere* and *benedicere* respectively). Nor does it seem logical to have included here under the same heading three cases where Vespasian has no English word to shew. Lastly, in the bibliography, Sweet's edition of the Vespasian Psalter is entered twice under different headings.

A. O. Belfour.

Belfast.

Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary (c. 1380—1844). By PAGET TOYNBEE. 2 vols. London: Methuen and Co. 1909. 8vo. li + 683, 757 pp.

Surely no book in the world except the Bible (and perhaps some definitely 'sacred' Books of other religions) has ever been treated like the *Divina Commedia*! Has any work of man, poet or prose-writer, been commentated so frequently and so variously? Has any been so ploughed and harrowed and harrowed again, 'tested' for this and that as the chemist tests a liquid in his tube—tested for Scripture, for Aristotle, for Aquinas, for archaeology, for art, for natural history, for botany, for cookery, for everything under the sun? Has any been so copiously furnished with special dictionaries, vocabularies, concordances, *rimari*, not to speak of translations good and bad, in prose and verse? An unsympathetic critic will ask ironically whether a monograph has yet appeared 'On the use of *e* and *la* in the *Divina Commedia*' or 'On the possible problems in change-ringing suggested by a given number of *terzine*,' or 'On the cryptic meaning of the square-root of the total number of words used in the *Inferno*.' To such an one Dr Toynbee's 1500 pages will appear a monument of misplaced industry. He will accept with the utmost seriousness the learned writer's playful description of his own work: 'simile mostro visto ancor non fue.'

But the initiated will be of a different mind. The minute analysis of which Dante's works have been made the subject, with its niceties of classification and its ramifications of specialised research may look sometimes like niggling, but it is in reality a tribute to the genuine uniqueness of the 'Divino Poeta.'

If no one (outside the Bible) has ever received such elaborate homage of this kind as Dante has done, may it not be because none has merited it in the same way? The shrewd remark of fifteenth century Florio in his comparison of Dante with 'Bocace' and 'Petrarche'—'Dante hardest, but commented. Some doubt if all aright'—appeals to us all; but it is far from condemning the practice of commenting on Dante. It is no mere accident that Dante became the subject of lectures almost before he was cold in his grave. It is no mere accident that the cult of him has revived of late, not only in Italy but in Europe generally, and notably in Germany, England and America. A wider outlook upon the field of literature, a sounder and more scientific critical taste and tendency was bound to recognise his greatness, the uniqueness of his genius, the undying interest of his handling of themes which, in themselves, will never grow old.

The present appreciation of Dante is less surprising than the previous neglect of him, a neglect that seems strangely conspicuous in the Elizabethan era. That Spenser, Shakespeare and Francis Bacon should none of them quote Dante is certainly a strange thing. Yet we are assured that even the assumed parallels to the *Divina Commedia* in the 'Faerie Queene' are uncertain, and Dr Toynbee accepts Dr Furnivall's

judgement about Shakespeare, that 'if he had known Dante, he would have so used him, and so often, as to leave no doubt on the point.'

Surprising again, at first sight, is the general neglect of Dante alike in England and in Italy during a large part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Milton and Gray are the only very prominent English writers of those two centuries who really loved him and sat at his feet. Addison and his contemporaries were, from our point of view, very limited in their tastes and interests; and Addison's neglect of Dante and of Italian literature in general is paralleled by his utter failure to appreciate the beauties of Gothic architecture. When near the middle of the eighteenth century English critics (as Dr Toynbee shews us) began at last to take account of Dante, and to realise his place among the world's great poets, the influence of the 'flippant and contemptuous criticisms' of Voltaire turned the scale, and a chorus of abuse was heaped upon the *Divina Commedia*. Lord Chesterfield's expressed conviction that Dante 'was not worth the pains necessary to understand him' is followed by Goldsmith's judgement that he 'addressed a barbarous people in a method suited to their apprehensions,' and 'owes most of his reputation to the obscurity of the times in which he lived.' Thomas Warton goes further in attributing to the poet 'disgusting fooleries' and 'gross improprieties,' and Horace Walpole in characterising him as 'extravagant, absurd, disgusting, in short, a Methodist parson in Bedlam'; while Martin Sherlock crowns all with his decisive and comprehensive judgement to the effect that the *Commedia* is 'the worst poem in any language'! But even hostile and unintelligent criticism was better than utter neglect. Dante was now a subject of discussion in intellectual and quasi-intellectual circles: Italians resident in England, like Baretti, took up the cudgels against Voltaire and his following, and Cary, whose literary life linked the eighteenth century to the nineteenth caught the torch of true Dantism from his favourite Gray, and handed it on to succeeding generations.

Among the most vivid impressions that these volumes leave upon us is that of the importance of Baretti in preparing a public opinion which should be ready to appreciate Cary's work, and of the greatness of the debt acknowledged by us all, which English lovers of Dante owe to Cary. Another is that of the immensely increased interest concentrated upon Dante in the last century. Of two equal volumes the first covers the period from 1380 to 1804, the second, the following 40 years.

But the most vivid impression of all is that of a patience and an industry almost inconceivable in the compiler of the book. To have sifted and sorted practically the whole of English literature from 1380 to 1844 (including a number of anonymous periodicals) is no light task: more especially as, over a large part of the field, Dr Toynbee had no previous pioneers to guide him. The method of arrangement is admirable, and the careful biographical notice of each author named will be a great help to those who desire to make this work the basis of specialisation, of a serious study of Dante's actual influence on this or

that school of English literature. That task the author has not attempted here, though he has supplied well-ordered material for it, and in his very readable introduction has sketched for us the thermometric chart of the appreciation of the poet in England, from Chaucer onwards. If not worthy to be ranked with the great *Dante Dictionary* in general usefulness, this book is worthy of the author's high reputation. It is a delightful book to browse upon, open it where you will. It fills the reader with a double envy, envy of the capacity of the compiler, and an equal envy of the leisure which must have been so generously expended on the task, in days when leisure is almost a forgotten thing.

LONSDALE RAGG.

TICKENCOTE, STAMFORD.

L'Œuvre de Rabelais (Sources, Invention et Composition). Par JEAN PLATTARD. Paris: H. Champion. 1910. 8vo. xxxi + 374 pp.

M. Plattard's learned volume, which has deservedly earned for him the degree of doctor *avec mention très honorable*, is an elaborate inquiry into the sources of Rabelais's immortal composition. How much of it is due to literary and especially to humanistic sources, how much to oral tradition, how much to personal experience, all this is duly investigated with thoroughness and caution. Perhaps on the question of personal experience the caution is excessive. It is of course possible that Pantagruel's residence at Paris may have been suggested by the *Grandes Chroniques*—M. Plattard ignores the view of some critics that Rabelais was the author of this work—but is it not practically certain that it is also founded on Rabelais's own experience? Where else in France could Rabelais have carried his medical studies to such a point that he was permitted to take his bachelor's degree at Montpellier six weeks after his matriculation? Moreover his connexion with the University of Paris is confirmed by M. Lefranc's happy discovery that the Hôtel Saint-Denis, where Pantagruel lodged, served as a college for Benedictine students. Again, M. Plattard says that the war between Picrochole and Grandgousier was *perhaps* suggested by the dispute between Rabelais's father and a neighbouring proprietor, Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe. But have not M. Lefranc's detailed investigations made this abundantly clear? The fact is that circumstantial evidence is sometimes as convincing as direct evidence. It may, indeed, be more so, as is instanced by Rabelais's signature to a purchase made by the Franciscans of Fontenay-le-Comte, which M. Clouzot has now shewn to be a forgery. The failure of this document, however, does not necessarily limit Rabelais's residence in a convent to the years 1520 to 1523, for he may have entered the convent some years before October, 1520, the earliest date at which we *know* him to have been there. Moreover, 1523 is a slip for 1524, as Rabelais did not leave the convent till early in the latter year, as M. Plattard himself recognises.

With regard to chapters III to V, which deal respectively with Rabelais's relations to mediaeval learning ('Respublica scholastica'), jurisprudence, and medical science, there is little to be said except to commend their thoroughness. The two latter chapters indeed are of too special a character to appeal to any but ardent Rabelaisians, or those who are interested in the history of jurisprudence or medicine. I will only note that 'Alber. de Ros.' (pp. 95 and 124) stands for Albericus de Rosata—Rabelais writes the name in full in his catalogue of the library of Saint-Victor—and that it is preferable to speak of the great German botanist as Fuchs, rather than by the gallicised form of his name, Fousch.

The longest and most important chapter of the book is that which deals with Rabelais as a humanist (c. VI). Here we have for the first time, arranged in a convenient alphabetical order, the list of Rabelais's debts to all the various humanistic sources, that is to say, not only to the ancient writers themselves, but to the numerous collections of excerpts which the Renaissance humanists made from these writers. As M. Plattard says, the inquiry is one which demands great caution, for in many cases it is very difficult, if not impossible, to determine from which kind of source Rabelais has derived his knowledge, whether from the living stream or from the artificial reservoir. But though the inquiry may be imperfect and incomplete as regards details, M. Plattard is quite justified in claiming for it that it enables us to determine the character of Rabelais's humanism.

In the first place, then, it is clear that, though Rabelais had a competent knowledge of both Greek and Latin, he was not a philologist. He could not have edited a classical text. Secondly, he was very far from appreciating the beauties of the great writers of antiquity. It is significant that neither Pindar nor Aeschylus, those two great masters of lofty poetical style, are never cited by him. The name of Sophocles is equally absent from his pages. Even his knowledge of Aristophanes, with whom he has so much affinity, is, as M. Plattard shews, slight and vague. On the other hand, his references to Homer, whom he calls, oddly enough, 'the father of all philosophy,' and 'the paragon of philologists,' are fairly numerous, especially in the Third Book. Many of these, however, are at second-hand. M. Plattard does not discuss the question how far Rabelais is indebted to the *Odyssey* for inspiration as to some of the episodes of Pantagruel's voyage.

It is much the same with regard to the Latin masters of style. M. Plattard has only found ten references to Cicero, none of any importance, and all taken from his moral treatises. When Rabelais tries to imitate his style in French, as in certain letters and harangues, he produces a mere caricature. Virgil's name is often on his lips, but the great majority of his references to him are taken at second-hand from Servius and others. Indeed, if M. Plattard had made more use of Mr W. F. Smith's paper on *Rabelais and Servius* (*Revue des études rabelaisiennes*, IV, 349 ff.) he might have added considerably to the list of borrowings from Servius. By an apparent oversight M. Plattard has

omitted Livy from his purview; he seems to have been very little used by Rabelais, possibly not at all at first-hand.

Another omission is Sir Thomas More, who had a great reputation in France throughout the sixteenth century. His identification with Thaumaste, the learned Englishman, is highly probable, especially as immediately after the incident in which he figures Pantagruel receives the news that the city of the Amaurots in Utopia has been besieged by the Dipsodes. Besides this, there are other obvious reminiscences of the *Utopia*. For Budé and Erasmus M. Plattard has had the advantage of following in the footsteps of M. Delaruelle—he doubts some of his parallels and adduces two new ones—and (for Erasmus only) Mr W. F. Smith. He is, however, mistaken in supposing that the latter has not included the *Praise of Folly* in his investigation. He gives, in fact, two instances of that work, but refers at least half of those adduced by M. Plattard to the *Adagia*. It was very likely Erasmus, who with More translated some of Lucian's dialogues, that led the author of *Pantagruel* to the Greek satirist. In any case he recognised in him a kindred spirit; the appellation of a 'French Lucian' which he received from his contemporaries was a just one. M. Plattard devotes several pages to Lucian's influence, discussing it with acuteness and good sense, though I should have expected him to say more about the relationship of Pantagruel's voyage to the *Vera Historia*.

'I delight in reading the moral treatises of Plutarch, the fine dialogues of Plato, the monuments of Pausanias and the antiquities of Athenaeus.' So writes Gargantua in his famous letter to Pantagruel, and M. Plattard quotes the passage as an indication of Rabelais's preferences. In so grave a letter we should hardly expect to find the name of Lucian: but Plutarch and Plato were certainly among Rabelais's *livres de chevet*. His copy of Plato is at Montpellier, and that of Plutarch's *Moralia* is at Rome. But M. Plattard is right in pointing out that he did not go to them for ideas. His ideas were his own, or at any rate those of his age: he loved to illustrate them from his favourite authors, but that was all. The point is of some importance, for modern critics, unaccustomed to the ways of sixteenth century humanists, are apt to regard the copious borrowings of Rabelais and Montaigne as detracting from their originality. It was not their ideas, their general philosophy of life, that they got at second-hand, but their learning.

For the short-cuts to the learning of the ancients were numerous. Besides Erasmus's *Adagia* and Budé's *De Asse* there were the various compilations known as *Lectiones antiquae* and for the most part bearing that title. Those from which Rabelais drew most largely were the *Lectiones antiquae* of Coelius Rhodiginus (Venice, 1516), who resided for some years in France in the reign of Charles VIII, the *Officina* of Ravisius Textor (Basle, 1503; Paris, 1520), the *De dictis factisque memorabilibus* of Baptista Fulgosus (Milan, 1509; Paris, 1518), and the writings of Coelius Calcagninus (Basle, 1544). Others mentioned by M. Plattard, whom Rabelais may or may not have consulted, were the *De honesta disciplina* of Petrus Crinitus (Florence, 1504; Paris,

1508), which was very popular in France, the *De varia historia* of Nicolaus Leonicus Thomaeus (Basle, 1531; Lyons, 1532), and the *Exempla* of Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus (Venice, 1507; Paris, 1508). Most of these were collections of notable instances or singularities, and one can easily imagine their attraction for men like Rabelais and Montaigne, who were infinitely curious especially about everything which concerned the life of the ancients and human nature in general.

From these Rabelais was drawn to more original sources, to Athenaeus, and Pausanias, to the elder Pliny, to Macrobius and Aulus Gellius, and Suetonius. M. Plattard notes that his borrowings from Ovid's *Fasti* are particularly numerous in the later chapters of the Third Book and the earlier ones of the Fourth. Indeed, in the first three chapters of the Fourth Book as it originally appeared, which were almost certainly written at Metz, the *Fasti* is the only classical work of which any use is made. This brings us to a question which it hardly fell within M. Plattard's scope to discuss. How did Rabelais get access to the very large number of books to which he refers, or from which he has made extracts? He had, of course, a certain number of books of his own. Mr Seymour de Ricci, who is investigating the subject, knows of nineteen which bear his signature. They include a Galen (in the library of Sheffield University), the Aldine *editio princeps* of Plutarch's *Moralia*, and a Plato. But probably his whole library did not amount to many volumes. He had neither the money to buy them, nor the home to house them. He must have borrowed books from his friends—as he does a Plato when he was staying with M. de Saint-Ayl near Orleans in 1542—or he must have consulted them in public or private libraries. His visits to Rome with the Cardinal Du Bellay would have given him many opportunities of this sort, and probably there was a fair library in the Cardinal's palace at Saint-Maur-les-Fossés. If, as I agree with Mr Smith in believing, Rabelais wrote the greater part, if not all, of the Third Book in that 'paradise of salubrity,' it is very probable that he found there a Homer. Possibly too he had access to the royal library at Fontainebleau, of which his friend, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, was custodian. But how did he use the books which he came across only for a time? Did he keep a commonplace book, into which he copied passages for possible use on future occasions? If we knew something of his methods, it might throw some light on the vexed problem of the Fifth Book—a problem which M. Plattard, and rightly from his point of view, leaves severely alone. For instance as regards the *Novus Orbis* and the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, from both of which there are borrowings in the Fifth Book, the former is used elsewhere only in *Pantagruel*, and the latter only in *Gargantua*.

In his last chapter M. Plattard discusses the general characters of Rabelais's style, and rightly comes to the conclusion that it is essentially an oral style, the style of a work which is destined to be read aloud. Thus Rabelais is the exact opposite to Montaigne, whose prose, while delightful to read, often falls inharmoniously on the ear.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

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